LONDON,
Printed by J. L. for Richard Whitaker, and are to be
sold at the signe of the Kings Armes in Pauls
Church-yard. 1640.
THE END OF NERO AND BEGINNING OF GALBA.

FOVRE BOOKES OF THE HISTORIES OF
Cornelius Tacitus.

THE LIFE OF AGRICOLA.

The sixth Edition.

LONDON,
Printed by J. L. for Richard Whitaker, and are to be sold at the signe of the Kings Armes in Pauls Church-yard. 1640.
Present here to your Majesties view my imperfections in their owne colours, and the excellencies of another man with much loss of their lustre, as being transported from their natural light of the Latin by an unskilfull hand into a strange language, perchance not so fit to set out a piece drawn with so curious a penne. The cause of undertaking a worke of this kinde was a good will in this scribbling age not to doe nothing, and a disproportion in the powers of my minde, 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 Majesties name and protection (beside the testification of my bounden duty) was the great account your Highnesse most worthily holdeth this History in; hoping thereby, that as some for the excellency of the wine, have liked also the lees, so it might peradventure please you, to accept into some degree of favour this worke as it is, though by chance from vessel to vessel having taken windes and lost his pleasing taste to the palate, yet retaining somewhat of his former strength, and much of his substance. But the principal cause was to incite your Majesty by this as by a foil to communicate to the world, if not those admirable compositions of your owne, yet at the least those most rare and excellent translations of Histories (if I may call them Translations, which have so infinitely exceeded the originals) making evident demonstration to all who have seen them, that as the great actions of Princes are the subject of stories, so stories composeth or amended by Princes, are not only the best patterne and rule of great actions, but also the most natural Registers thereof, the Writers being persons of like degree and of proportionable
proportionable conceits with the doers. And so wishing your Majesty either 
so much leisure your selfe, or a Tacitus to describe your most glorious raigne, 
I commit this Booke (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 hands that shall finishe out the rest, I hope to finde both par-
don for my faults, and some pity for my paines.

The Almighty bleffe your most excellent Majesty with a long, happy, and 
prosperous raigne, and the only true means thereof, many watchfull eyes to 
foresee, many valiant hands to fight, and many godly hearts to pray for the 
peace of your state.

Your sacred Majesties

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 only of prophane) so well worth the reading as Tacitus. For learning Nature acknowledgeth a reason, by leaving industry to finish her unperfect work: for without learning the conceit is like a fruitfull foile without tilling, the memorie like a storehouse without wares, the will like a ship without a rudder. For Historie, since we are easiely taught by example then by precept, what study can profit us so much, as that which gives patternes either to follow or to flye, of the best and worst men of all estates, countries, and times that ever were? For Tacitus I may say without partialitie, that he hath written the most matter with best conceit in fewest words of any Historiographer ancient or moderne. But he is hard. Difficilia qua pulchra: the second reading over will please thee more then the first, and the third the second. And if thy stomach be so tender as thou cannot digest Tacitus in his owne style, thou art beholding to Savile, who gives thee the same food, but with a pleasant and easie taste. In these foure bookes of the storie thou shalt see all the miseries of a torne and declining State: the Empire usurped; the Princes murdered; the people wavering; the souliers tumultuous; nothing unlawfull to him that hath power, and nothing so unsafe as to be securely innocent. In Galba thou mayest learne, that a good Prince governed by evill ministers is as dangerous as if he were evill himselfe. By Otho, that the fortune of a rash man is Torrenti similis, which rises at an instant, and falls in a moment. By Vitellius, that he that hath no vertue can never be happy: for by his owne basenesse he will lose all, which either fortune, or other mens labours have cast upon him. By

Vespasian
Veßbahan, that in civill tumults an advised patience, and opportunity well taken are the only weapons of advantage. In them all, and in the state of Rome under them, thou mayest see the calamities that follow civill warres, where lawes lye asleep, and all things are judged by the sword. If thou mislike their warres, be thankfull for thine owne peace; if thou dost abhorre their tyrannies, love and reverence thine owne wise, just, and excellent Prince. If thou dost detest their Anarchy, acknowledge our owne happy government, and thanke God for her, under whom England enjoyes as many benefits, as ever Rome did suffer miseries under the greatest tyrant.
The yeere of

The End of Nero and Beginning of Galba.

Alerius Trachalus, and Silius Italicus being Consuls: Caius Julius Vindex, Lieutenant of Gallia Lugdunensis, perceiving that private con不低于cies 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 Senators house, by birth French and extract from the line of their ancient Kings, of body pulsant, quick of conceit, of a ready dispatch, skilfull in arms, and bold to attempt: his province peaceable, and therefore utterly disfurnish'd of forces: no Legion, no garrison under his government. Notwithstanding as in a body corrupt, and full of ill humours, the first paine that appears, be it never so slender, draws on the rest, discloseth old aches and braines, discovers what else is unsound in the body: so in a state universally dislik'd, the first disorder dissolveth the whole. Tea and off so it happeneth both, the disease that grew first, and gave cause to the other, being re cured, the rest notwithstanding worke out the final destruction. Now Vindex, before he declared himselfe, well weighing the weakness of his estate, and withall his own person incapable of the Empire, as being but a stranger, without followers, without friends or allies among the Nobility, deliberated to cast it on some other man of more reputation, who also by necessity and strength might second his attempt. Corbulon was lately murdered by Nero; Vespius farre off warring in tenny: Silodus Paulinus at home without army, the most famous men of that age for military matters: Of high Germany Verginius Rufus was Lieutenant, with three Legions, next neighbour to Vindex, only of a mean gentlemans house. In low Germany Fonteius Capito, with four Legions, and Claudius Macer in Africke with a competent army, neither of them likely to repair that which Nero had ruined. There remained then in arms Servius Sulpitius Galba, a man of great wealth and ancient Nobility, who had been eight yeeres Lieutenant in neerer Spaine, to the reasonable contentment of the country, with an head of one Legion, and the Armes belonging therto. From him Vindex finally resolving dispatcheth into Spaine, and other countries adjoyning, secret letters declaring his purpose to the Lieutenants. Galba, in whom age had abated the beat of ambition, experience and dangerous times engender'd a wary and fearfull proceeding, as soon upon nothing lesse then diameses and kingdoms, having given him selfe over, for certaine yeeres past, to an idle and obscure kind of life, sequestred as it were, and retir'd from affairs for fear of Nero; under whom to doe ill was not always safe, always unsafe to doe well, and of doing nothing no man constrained to yield an account. Whereupon the letters arriving, he frownd much amazed, divided in mind, what course he should follow: to trust them peradventure it was but a traine: to discloseth them and send them to Nero: that were indeed to put in his head an eternal jealousy, and himselfe into a needless peril: and perhaps also there might be good meaning. Whereupon in so doubtfull a case, he took the meanes way, suppressing the letters, and not entering into the cause any further, referring to govern himselfe in the rest, as events and occurrents should lead and direct him. The other Lieutenants sent all their letters to Nero, betraying Vindex, betraying the cause, whereof themselves anon were partakers.

Now Vindex certaine days after the Calends of March, though not fully assured,
The end of Nero

yet hoping well of Galba's intents, and presuming good luck to so good a meaning, assembled them of his province, such chiefly as were chiefes in their country for credit, and chiefly had beene touched in goods or in honour. To whom recounting in order the tyrannies of Nero, namely his sparing of "Franceto the quicke, to the utter destruction of so many men, the universall decay of so godly a country, be exhorteth them all to take armes, to succour themselves, to succour the Romans, and to free the whole world from so heavy a yoke. Or if, which the gods forbid in so good a case, yet let us (quoth he) sell him our lives in the field with honour, seeing we cannot possesse them with safety. For another Prince (our broken state, and age of void, not vexting, not free a common-wealth) we have here at hand a man of great birth, great wealth, and great forces, one that hath made honourable prooves of himselfe, at home, and abroad, in all respects worthy the place, Galba Lieutenant of "Arragon. If you like of the man, there remaineth then only we mustie the country to the most that we may, without whose swords all take of warre is but vain, and this pernicious. His demands being all accorded by common consent, he levyeth a power, many men, and few soldiers, taken upon the sudden, not disciplined, not trained to the order of service; he publisheth edicts disaming the person and government of Nero. Then causing Galba to be proclaimed, he writes him a letter, now, or else never, to declare himselfe in favour of mankind against that monster of Nature, to surfe the body of an hundred thousand French men in armes, and more if need were, of a head. The Sequani, Aedui, Arverni, Remi, and the flower in a manner of France, were all of the party, conferring men, horses, armes, money, and all what else was requisite for service in field. Rufinus, Flavius, Asiacus with others were appointed Captaines, and Pienna state of the Warre; who of next neighbours, and ancient enemies, the Lugdunenses banded themselves against them and the cause, or because for their sake, many conflicts between them, and skirmishes during the warre, so thicke, and so hotly pursued, that one might perceive much private choler; under the shadow of publick pretences. The Lingones likewise and Treveri, and some other Cities, forsaking their fellowes, linked themselves with the Legions confining. Three Legions, as before it is said, with their ayes, Verginius had in his charge; who seeing all France on a fire, and that now of force he must either rebell with the rest, or warre with the rebels (for so they were styled still they prevailed) in private beholding, for publick respects misliking of Nero, no admirer of Galba, with Vindex proceeding highly displeased, the example being unsewe, that a Province should be a Prince-maker, this unresolved, resolving this only, that he would not be resolved by others, determined to stand on his Guard, and gathered his men about him in haste, valiant soldiers and expert in service, and likely to stay where they went.

Of the other side the Lieutenant of Aquitania, against the troubles of France, requested the assistance of Galba his neighbour, who at new Carthage kept a law day: but anone he perceived how that he had taken an wrong address. For Galbar receiving the letters of Vindex, and being advertised that warrant was out for his death to the Procurators, had debated the matter afresh with his friends. Some unwilling to play their state at a cafe, wills him to play and attend to what head the humours in Rome new stirred would gather: as for the Procurators, they might be prevented; and warned is half armed. To Titus Vinius, then Lieutenant of the Legion, and anon chiefes in favour with Galba, that course seemed unsafe. Armed indeed (quoth he) for a while against a Procurator or two: may, put case we could hang up these few in our places, shall we live, doe you think, for lack of a hangman? Give us armes against Nero, and then we are armed. But perhaps sib nothing is past on our part, he may be perswaded to call in his sentence against. Even good Princes are jealous of sovereign points, and that string being touched, have a quicke care. They have bought it full deare which ignorantly have fate in their chaire of estate, that have wore their diadem to kepe it from wetting, or upon
and beginning of Galba.

upon like occasion. Germanicus, as some here may remember, because one or two in the army had only a purpose to salute him Prince, was never well brooked, still by his owne death he had paid the price of other men's rashneffe. Corbulo, eventhe Corbulo, which had quieted Germany, subdued Armenia, broken the Parthian spirits, brought Arsaces line on his knees before Nero, after he had so highly deserved as his bands, it cost him his life, that some men in secret thought him a fit man to succeed. We are, as they say, openly proclaimed, we have an army in field: shall he then repent it, that never repented but when he did well? Let him look that left for succours from Rome, where liberty is lost, fit men to free others. Galba and Vindex their swords and such the armies must purchase our freedome. 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 Country came in at the day suspecting the matter, apt to receive any new impression. And Galba having placed of purpose before his tribunal, a masse of images of great personages executed or banished in Neros time, and fetched from exile a young nobleman, out of the next lands, to stand by his seat, his army about him, place in this wise. My fellow soldiers and friends, we are at this present assembled to enfranchise our bondmen, to bellow upon others that great benefit of liberty and freedome: which we our selves, whom both nature and fortune bath freed this long time, have fully enjoyed. The life I have led hitherto will sufficiently discharge me from any aspiring conceit, and my owne conscience beareth me witness, that I speake not upon any malice, or private respect. It grieveth me to say, but it helps not to hide that which every man feeth. Bath even bondman under a cruel master pass'd ayere of harder service, then we have done fourteen under Neros. What kindness of exacting bath he not proved to supply with extortion that which with shame be bath spent? What kindes of cruelty bath he not practis'd? If we should conceal or secke to suppress it, these dumbe stones would declare them. Behold poystoned his father and brother, abused and slain his owne mother, murdered his wife, his master and what else forever valliant or virtuous in Senate, in citie, in province, without any difference of sex, or of age. I need not to speake of the sorrowfull sighes and bitter teares of so many young gentle-men bereft of their fathers, so many wives robbed of their husbands, so many great men depravd of their country, which cry vengeance upon such a Prince. A Prince may, an incendiary, a singer, a flagemaker, a cart driver, a cryer, no Prince, my no man, that bath a man to his husband, and a man to his wife, but a monster of mankind; against whom what Vindex in France hath already intended I am sure you doe know, and I, for my part, I am well sorry to heare. The whole course of my former life hath beene otherwise removed from ambition in court, from ayming too high: and this little that remains of my days I could heartily wish were spent in more cause. But this, I know not by what my misfortune, some have imposed upon me a part, which I never meant to sustaine, and least of all at this age. I will not refuse, if you also approve it, to sacrifice this old carcasse of mine for the wealth of my countrey, not as Emperour, or Augustus, which sacred names I adore as farre off, not daring to approach them, but as—The speech was not finished, when the soldiers, and people with one common voyce interrupting, saluted him Emperour. Galba commending their zealde to the good of the Empire, and accepting the substance refused the name, terming himself Lieutenant of the Senate and people of Rome. Next care was to muster more men, to make good the revolt: the countrey was prest and soldiars came in of all hands: new Legions and aides were enrolled, and to helpe as a need, a ship of Alexandria laden with armoure, without master, without mariner, without passengers, arrived at the port: which accident, besides that the wrecke came in good season, increas'd to the cause's reputation, as though against Nero the gods had furnishd weapons from heaven. Then he ordaind a Councell in forme of a Senate elected out of the
The end of Nero

chieftest and gravest men of his traine, and a guard of young gentlemen to watch and ward at his lodging, he published edicts, and sends them abroad to every province, exhorting them all to take armes, and concurs in common against the common enemy. Many revolted from Nero, and came to the side: M. Salvius Otho with the first, then Lieutenant of Portingall, bringing his jewels and plate, which Galba made into money.

In high Germany, the souldiers considering the weakness of Nero; that France had already rebelled; that Spain made a Prince; that the rest of the countries were likely to follow, if not all for the same, yet all against Nero: viewing their own forces, and strength now united, which before lay dispersed in troupes and in bands, strangers to Galba, and greatly disdaining that one simple Legion should impose them a Prince, finally concluded to make it their benefit, and below the Empire themselves. A fit man they needed not seek far off: Verarginus Rufus the Lieutenant, though of a Gentlemans house, and no higher, in strength of body, matters of action, and all other things excelled Galba: in birth what if Galba were better? Catulus the top of his kinne fled dishonourably away in the Cimbrian warre, where Maribus, baseler bore them Verarginus, worthily succed to it, and saved the State. Hereupon they give and break downe tumultuously the images of Nero, salute Verarginus Prince, inscription the matter grow to a tumult, and being unable to resist their violence, thought to yield in some degree against Nero, but not for himselfe, much less any other named abroad. For his part he said he had no need 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 maintain against whom soever. The souldiers being in part thus appeased, he commanded the inscription to be defaced, and with his whole army entered France, pretending to warre against Vindex. The City of Besansone, which first refused to receive him, he straightway besieged. Vindex to succour the town and levy the siege, or bid him battle, if it might be better, with twenty thousand men commeth against him. Lying encamp'd not farre auster, there passed letters betweene them: whereupon they secretly met and conferred together, none else being present on either side. Their conclusion was friendly, doub'tlesse to joyn against Nero: some thought to set downe Galba also; and it was not unlikely. Thus departing as friends, each to his camp, Vindex secure as in a quarrell already composed, and nothing attending lesse then the shoxe, meaning to enter the town, and repose his army with all his men made towards the gates. The souldiers of Germany lying at the walettes, and perceiving the army approach, marching, as it seemed, directly upon them, not privy to their Generals purpose, or not willing to lose so faire an occasion, ranne out without bidding, and falling upon them at unawares and in disarray, not able on a sudden to remedieth the error, as men newlytrained, and uncouperd in warre, slew them all in a manner, and spoil the carriage. Vindex seeing the unwelcom successe of this unlook'd for battell, having lost in a manner the flower of all France, and suspecting fraud of Verarginus side, as though he meant to entrap him, and send him to Nero, ranne himselfe upon his own sword: many coming after bewailed their blames upon the dead carcasse, seeking a colour for praise or reward of Nero prevaileth. After this slaughter the souldiers pressed Verarginus againe to accept of the Empire, and embassages came almost from every quarter requiring the same, with assured promise of all possible assistance, if not, ready to returne to Neroes obedience; but Verarginus blemishing the heavy mishap of his unfortunate friends rejecteth the speech, and marches forward in France. This end had Julius Vindex, a man in the course of this action more notorious then fortunate, who having no army provided, no legio, no souldier in charge, whiles others more able looks on, first entred the lists, challenging a Prince uphelden with thirty Legions, rooted in the Empire by four of defects of ancestors,
ancestors, and fourteen yeares continuance of reigne, not upon private despaire to set in combustion the state, not to revenge, disgrace, or diʃhonour, not to establish his own sovereignty, things which have moved most men to attempt; but to redeem his country from tyranny and bondage, which onely respect he regarded so much, that in respect he regarded nothing his own life or securitie. For when it was showed him, that Nero by publick edicts had prised his head as "ten thousand thousand deters; Well, quoth he againe, and be that kills Nero, and brings me his head, shall have mine in exchange. And though in this action fortune gave over the check, and by a strange accident, which mans wisedome could not foresee, overturned the enterprise, yet must we confess, that Vindex first stirred the stone, which bowling along tumbled Nero out of his seat.

Of Vindex revolt the first newes came to Nero at Naples, about the twentieth of March: whereof he made them so lightly to set, that he would not woulde safe once to intermit his accustomed pastimes and pleasures, but rather seemed to rejoice, and embrace the occasion, as falling out fuly to convert to his coysers by the law of armes the spoile of so large and so wealthy a country: at supper also receiving more letters of frether advice, and certain danger, he wished them owest ill chance, which thus by rebelling had troubled his drinking, and so for eight days he neither wrote letter, nor gave out order for any dispatch. As length through Vindex edicts, so thick and so biting, being awaked, he warned the Senate by letter to avenge his cause, and the common wealths, excusing his absence by reason of sickness. In Vindex edicts, supporting the rest patiently, one thing above all troubled him most, that his skill was impeached in playing: wherein he thought surely there was not his peer; effences demanding of them about him, whether, without flattery, they knew any in that profession more skilful then him: by this then he manifested an untruth, in an Art that he had so painefullly laboured, so perfectly learned, he willed them to esecume of the rest. The Senate, receiving the letters, flattering and fearing, adjudged Vindex a traitour, the selfe same men which soon after followed the like upon Nero. But urged by news upon news, at last in a fright he repared to Rome: where not calling Senate nor people together, but some principal men to the Palace at an unseasonable houre of the night, as to confult of urgent affaires, he shewed them certaine conceits, and now strange devices of musick by water instruments discouring of the manner and difficulty of each, and that he had found out a way to make them sound both sweeter and lower, and shortly means to produce them in stage, if Vindex would give him leisure to doe it. But hearing that Galba and Spaine had rebelled, he tare his clothes, beat his head, and would in no wise receive any comfort, till such time as the Senate by decree had declared Galba enemy to the state. Then refruming courage, and somewhat revived with some rumours out of Germany, he returned to his riot and careless licentious life, and putting Galbass servants in prison, seized his goods and set them to sale. The like did Galba with Neroes in Spaine, and found a great deale more ready chapmen.

Anon as the tumults beganne, it is supposed credibly, that Nero had purposed to have made away all the governors of armies and provinces, as being conspired against him; to murder all exiled persons, lest they should joyn themselves with the rebels, all French he could finde in the Citte, as being friends to the cause; to poynon the Senate in banquet; to set a fire the Cittie, turning the wilde beasts among them which endeavoured to stop the course of the flame. But setting apart the device, not as disliking, being so suitabe to his proceeding, but as despairing to bring it about, he determined a voyage in person, sending before in the meanes fean Petronius Turgitanus, and Rubrias Gaulus with certaine others against them. To furnish the journey; his chief provision consisted in cariage for playing furnishe in concubines hame and polled as men, armed with hatchet and target according to to the Amazonian fashion. For masterying of men there were but few able enrolled and most
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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 seeming to stand in some sort at his courtship, and having to employ
his body beside; Nero in peace no longer for warre, was forced then to offend, when he should
in reason have sought to have wonne, and yet raised less with more opposition then ever, re-
putation now waining, a contrary passion being on foot. 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 compas-
on, and if they returning to former obedience without more ado, he would the next day merrily
sing, in that merry company, sonnets of victory, which he willed to be composed out of hand a-
gainst the time came.

As Nero was thus busily occupied in making provision for the warre, against Galba and
Pindex, letters were brought in at dinner of Verginianus defection, and the rest of the armies.
Whereupon in a desporate rage, he tore the letters, overturned the table, dabbled two cups on the
ground, which he dearly esteemed, and casting away all care of himselfe, notwithstanding
the peril presied no nower, he called for poison, 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 Servilian gardens.
From thence he sent of his trusty servants to Oswa to make ready the ships, purposeing to have
fled with his friends into Egypt, and there to have taken himselfe to his musician to get him a
living: possibly supposing in Egypt an imaginary surety to himselfe by his musician, whence
he could not live safely Emperour at Rome. To that purpose sounding the minds of the Tribunes
and Centurions of the Guard, and finding them some to draw backe, some flatly refuse to goe
with him, one among others directly to tell him, that sure his best way were to make an end of
himselfe, he was distracted into divers opinions, casting about what course he should follow:
foote to the Parthian, whom of late he had pleased? to Galba, who peradventure might pity
his estate? or were it else better in lamentable sort and mourning full need to goe out abroad, and
in the place of common assembly, most humbly for that which was past demand pardon: or else
if he could not obtaine it, that at least they would grant him the government of Egypt. This
liked him best, and thereof he framed a speech, which afterwards was found in his papers:
but fearing the people would pull him in pieces before he came to the place, he deferred the mat-
ter till the next morning.

Nymphidius Sabinus and Sophonius Tigellinus were Captaines of the Guard, prefer-
red by Nero from nothing to that honourable place, and now the first to forsake him. But
Tigellinus, as a person infamous and generally hated, prevailed not much; Sabinus had
the credit with the soldier: who affirming that Nero was already fled into Egypt,
and promising donative in Galbaes name * of thirty thousand fesseres a man, and
* five thousand to the soldier abroad, much more than would or could be performed, easily
wanner them to leave him, who bad as they thought already left them, and so pronounce
Galba Emperour, not upon any special liking to him above others, but while
left some doubted, some other denied, Galba pretending directly the suit, and no counter-
suit appearing, they were content to accept him for Prince. Their followes which
waded that night foreseeing the issue, and coveting in this creation of the new Prince
a part with the rest, left Nero asleep alone in the garden. Who being awaked about
midnight, understanding his Guard was departed, leapt out of his bed, and sent about for
his friends; from whom receiving no answer, he with a few went to their lodging-
ings himselfe. The great Monarch of the World, adored erewhile as a god, attended
upon and guarded by thousands of friends, of soldiers, of servants, now as a page knock-
ing at doors findeth all shut against his unfortunate state. Thus in adversity deftate of
aid, of counsel or comfort of friends, he returneth home, where finding his chamber rifled, the chamberlains fled, his box of pothen removed away, he sought for Spicillius the "fencer or some of his fort, by whom hands he might be dispatched: and finding none, wanting alike both friends and foes, he rame desperately out, as though he would have thrown him self heading into the Tiber: but his heart failing he represed his pace, and thereupon desiring some secret place to recall his wits, and returne courage againe, Phoan his freed man offered his house four miles off in the country, which Nero accepted; and so accompanied with four men onely, Phoan, Epaphroditus, Sporus and Neophytus, feteth away badly apparelled, and worse mounted, covering his head and hiding his face with a handkercheffe. As he was in the way out of his Citty, approaching the camp of the Guard, he beard the soldiers shouting and wishing good luck unto Galba, and it self to himselfe. In riding along, his horse starting aside, his face was discovered, and he known and saluted by one of the Guard which met him by chance. Whereupon forsaking horse and highway, threw bushes and briars, he crept in at the left into a thicket of reeds on the back side of Phoons farme-house, who persuading Nero in the meantime to fit in a pit out of the which sand had beeone digged, he refused that favour, denying to goe alowe under ground, and solace himselfe downe close in the reedes till they had beaten a hole in the wall, throw which Nero upon all four crept into the back side, casting himselfe upon a simple pallet in a back roome.

Whilst Nero thus lurked, the Senate assembled in counsell declare him enemy of the state, and punishable more majorum, sending out to secke him and bring him alive. Concerning the choice of a new, although in their secret opinions Virginius deferved to resume the benefit which he had put into their hands, yet being not willing to enter into further troubles, and raise up new civil warre, without which Galba, who had already foreprized the place could not be sett downe, following the soldiers example they onely agree all upon Galba. By this time they about Nero were instant upon him to rid himselfe quickly out of the contumeties and indignities, which anon he should be farsed to endure. To whom yelding himselfe, he commands to make ready for the funerals, weeping and wailing at every word, what great pittie it was, that so good a Minstrel should be cast away. In the mean season, certaine letters which were brought to Phoan from Rome he snatched away, and finding therein the Senates decree, demanded what more majorum meant, for that piece of Law he had never perused: understandng it was that his neck should be locked in a forke, and himselfe whipped naked to death, having in honour so shamefull an end, he took up two rapiers which he had brought with him, and trying the points how sharpt they were, put them up againe, desiring some of them to beginne and knew him the way to be manfull, but desiring avertuose example out of so vicious a schoole, a Court so corrupt, he desired in vaine. And now the horſemen sent by the Senate approched, which Nero perceiving, by feare encouraged, ran himselfe thorow, Epaphroditus his secretary at bis request helping to dispatch him the sooner, for which service he was afterwards put to death by Domitian, who thought it not meete to suffer any to live, which had in any 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 feare of his subjece, ended his daies the eighth of June in the one and thirtieth yeare of his age, and fourteenth of his Empire, at the first having ruled the state with reasonable liking, insomuch that Trajan was wont to say, that even good Princes were short of Nereos five yeare: but after breaking forth into all infamous behaivour, and detestable oppressions and cruelties, and being withall a Prince weake in affio, not of verseuse 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
The end of Nero

cipall object of tyranny, sacrificed to the gods and feasted for joy: some also were Bennets, as being newly enfranchised. The Senate assembled again, decreed thanks to Nymphidia in most exquisite manner, extolling his high wisdom and tender care over the state: confirmed to Galba all princely prerogatives and imperial titles, making thereof a publick instrument, which the Consuls lent him in post: and moreover concluded upon a solemn Embassage of honourable personages with instructions, beside congratulations and complements, humbly to desire with speed his presence at Rome. Then was it purposed, that information might proceed against the accusers. The matter concerned some mighty men which had lived in times past by the loss of their neighbours, and touched somewhat a secret of State overthrowing and abolishing the instruments of the Empire. Notwithstanding their doings were so much detested, and the memory of their malice so fresh, that the order passed by voyces in Senate, making them all with the rest of the ministers of Nero's tyranny, punishable more majorum: but was only executed against some base persons, which had gained but little, and done little harme: the principal malefactors brake throw well enough, and escaped the danger.

While matters thus passed in France and at Rome, in Spaine Galba's soldiery in part were in terms to forsake him, and hardly reclaimed. About the same time also a freedman of Nero had followed upon Galba a present of bondmen prepared for a practise: who according to their instructions watching opportunities, as Galba by a narrow passage entred the bath, using their tongues, when time was, for hands, and exhorting one another not to let slip the occasion, were suddenly apprehended, and being examined what occasion they meant, and put to the rack, confessed the treason. Anon 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 Verginius should take the Empire upon him, or else would return to Nero again. Galba extremely afraid writes to Verginius, beseeching him most instantly to join in defiance of the liberty and Empire of Rome: himselfe notwithstanding as destitute and forlorn, and weary of the world that went so against him, leaving Vinius Lieutenant in the army, retireth to Clunia, repenting of what he had done, and wishing against his private estate, as though in this case there were any means between highest and nothing. Thus being distressed and anguish'd in minde without any care of him selfe, or the cause, in very good season comes Icelus his freedman from Rome in seven dajes thither, reporting that Nero being yet alive, but not to be found, the soldiery, the Senate and people had pronounced Galba Prince, that straight therewith Nero was said to be slaine, but himselfe not believing it, went to the place, saw him ly dead, and so came his way. Two dajes after Vindex came from the camp, declaring to him the particular points of the Senates decree. Galba receiving the news with great joy, as greatly above expectation, priviledg'd Icelus to wear gold rings, advanced Vinius to chiefe place in credit about him: and laying aside the name of Lieutenant, assumeth the title of Cæsar, preferreth Cornelius Laco to be Captaine of his Guard, and judging his presence necessary to settle the state, gave out order for his voyage to Rome with his army by land.

Now at Rome Nymphidia making his count that Neroes fall was his onely deed, that no recompence is sufficient for befoeing the diademe but the diademe, that Galba was old, and scarce could leaft out in a little to Rome, not by degrees, but with a maine course drew all to himselfe. The Guard in respect of their donation, were at their devotion, to be employ'd as he should direct them. The Lords of the Senate courted him daily, and seemed to depend wholly upon him. Whereupon usurping authoritie due to his place, he commands by and by Tigillius his companion to put off his sword and surcease from his office. The Consuls upon a displeasure, that they had sent the publick patents not by his soldiery, nor signed with his seale, the curriers commision, he had once determined to have deprived.
And laying the plot for himself he biddeth to banquet the principal men of the City: he seeth under hand so put in the shoulders head to present supplication to Galba, to establish Nymphidius captain for life without any fellow. To pleasure the people and get the goodwill of the commons, he permitthem to voice and torment whom they could catch of Neroes crew. Speculat the "fencers they laid under the images of Nero, trailed him along the row the streets, and dispatch him in the place of publick assembly, Aponius an accuser, they overthrew, and drew carts loaden with stones over his bodie, beside many other outraged and flaine, and some, as it happened where thevino is let loose to the furious multitude, innocently: in somuch that in Senate a grave and honourable counsellor openly protested, that in short time there should be great cause to with Nero againe, as being more tolerable enemys than many, and better to live, where nothing then where all things were lawfull. Thus Nymphidius, sonne to Nymphidia a libertin and old servant in court, and Martianus a fencer, secretly aspired to the Empire, working in Rome by certaine gracious women and Senators, and sending to Spain Galianus one of his friends to off ye the proceedings and actions of Galba.

Macer in Africke, the state being troubled, muster men, and pretended for himselfe; but being for avarice, and crule was hated extremely, and finding no followers, could neither mainaynt it with strength, nor leave is with safety. Galvia Grisimilla Neroes schola mistress in matter of pleasure and lutt, when Nero was dead, misdoubting mischances, saild into Africke, by her advise Macer before the sea-coasts, and forbade any corne should be transported, meaning to famish the Citie of Rome. Fonteius Caesar, Lieutenant of low Germanie, some thought had a meaning also for himselfe. Certaine it is that sitting in judgement, the partie aggrieved appealing to Cesar, he skipped out of the state where he sat, into a chaine of citace set upon high, and then bade him tell on his tale before Cesar. But Fabius Valens, Lieutenant theare of a Legion, greatly befriending Galba's part, swore to him first he with his company, and the rest of the army followed the example, Verginius, the only concurrent of Galba in speech of the people, having overthrown Vindex, and muster France, notwithstanding his soldiers after the death of Nero was knowne, pressed him againe in such vehement fort, that one of the Tribunes drawing his sword, willed him to accept of it or the Empire, persifling constantly in his first resolution: and recieving anon advise of the Senates decree, himselfe most willingly, his soldiers hardly, and with much ado were persuaded his lower Germanie had sworn to swear allegiance to Galba. The rest of the Provinces without any difficultie accepted him all.

Now Galba disposing as Prince the affairs of the Empire, fineth the Cities of Spaine, which were not so forward to further the cause, and some be dissimented.
The end of Nero

friendly and familiar speeches and feasted in sober sort all with his owne, though otherwise he had plenty there of Neroes waiters and service sent by Nymphidius. But anone Pinius which wholly possessed and governed the old man, counselled him to put off popularitie as not bettering his place, to accept of Neroes provision, and to become royall in expense and service. Ver. ginius having delivered the army to his successor met Galba on the way, received of him not as in displeasure, and yet with small honour. So dangerous a point it is ye to have but only refused the Empire.

As Gellianus returne Nymphidius hearing that Laco was Captaine already, that Pinius had all the authoritie and credit, that his messenger was suspected and watched of all, not suffered to talke with the Prince in private, not once to approach to his person, was wonderfull moved in mindes. Whereupon assembling the chief of the Guard, he showed them that Galba was for his owne part a good barmelese old man, but misleaded by two persons much of Tigellinus making, Pinius and Laco: and therefore it were not amisse to send one or two in the name of the whole to make him remonstrance, that removing away these two from about him he should be more welcome, and better accepted. This speech seeming strange and absurd, to prescribe to a Prince of those yeeres, as it were to an infant, his counsell and servants, be taketh a contrary course, and writeth to Galba in terrifying manner, That the masters at Rome were doubtfull and dangerous, that Macro in Africke had payed the Ships, the Legions of Germanie stirred anew, the like was reported from Iewrie and Syria. But perceiving that Galba gave to his tales small ear and lese credit, and having the soldiers all well affected, he determined to prevent and give the attempt, notwithstanding that Claudius Cellus a sober wise man and one of his friends plainly protested, that in his opinion scarce any three persons in Rome would accept him for Emperor: but the rest satisfied out, named one Aristidates of Pontus. Perhaps, quoth he, Galba stennes somebody new to the Romans, while he is absent, but when they shall see that bald head, and rusted face, he will frame the very reproach and disgrace of the days in which he was Prince. And so they concluded at midnight following to bring Nymphidius into the camp and proclaime him Emperor. But when the Evening was come, Antonius Hussatus, principal Tribune assembling the soldiers under his charge, demanded what evil spirit had bereaved them of understanding, moving them so suddenly and without cause to change their allegiance. If Nero deserued it, what mother, what wife, had Galba then killed? or for what misdemeanor would they forsake Servius Galba to preferre a Curtizans sonne? with whose blood they should ere it bee long, if they would bee directed by him, but revenge Neroes death, whom he first betrayed, and shew them their selves loyal to Galba, against whom he intended: willing them lastly to reckon in reason what successes might tenntethousand attend against the consent of the Empire armed for Galba. His soldiers thus being perswaded, perswaded the rest all in a manner to remaine in Galbaes obedience. Whereupon a shout being made in the camp, Nymphidius supposing the soldiers had called him, or hasting to confrone the waverers, and prevent the tumult, went thither himselfe with torches and lanterne, having learned without Booke an oration composed by Cingiusus Farno, to pronounce there among them. But finding the Gates of the camp made fast, and soldiers in armes on the walls, he feared the matter, and drawing metred demanded what they meant, and by whose warrant they had put themselves so in armes. And when it was answere by all agreeably, that they knew not, nor would not accept other Prince beside Galba, Nymphidius finding the perill, joynd with them, and wished all long life and prosperitie to Galba. Augustus commending his followers to doe all the like. And so by the soldiers, which guarded the Gates, being admitted with a few of his traine, he was at his entry welcomed in with a dart hurled at him, which one Septinius bare off with a buckler. But seeing so many at the receit with naked swords prepared,
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 way and hearing of Nymphidius death, commanded the rest of his favours and complices to be executed: among which Mithridates of Pontus paled for his mirth, and Cingonius Varro who penned the oration. As Galba drew near to the City at the Milvian 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 many in number, and loath to go back to the Gallies again, beset the high way on both sides, demanding their Eagle and ensignes sumptuously, and so without order, that the Prince could neither be heard nor seen of the people making his entrie: neither could he appease them by putting them over to another time of greater leisure and better audience, but taking deerring as a kind of denying, seditionously they murmured and followed with out-criteria. And some of them also drew out their swords, as though they would obtain it by force, which by sure means could they not. Whereupon Galba commanding the horsemen to ride in among them, flew of them being unarmed seven thousand, and of the residue allotted every tenth man to suffer, putting the rest close up in prison, which nevertheless he after enlarged to his disadvantage.

Now Galba, being with general applause and great good liking of the Empire placed in state, behaved himselfe under expectation. And though in most points he shewed himselfe a virtuous Prince, yet were not his well doinges well accepted, as those disallowed which were otherwise. All persons unjustly exiled by Nero, as well of the Nobility as meaner sort, with their children he mercifully restored againe to their country and honour, though not to their wealth. Contrarily Petronius Turgilianus, an ancient man and once Consul, without forme of process or order of law, he commanded to die, being charged with no other crime, but only that he had beene faithfull to Nero, and would not betray him as the rest. There was represented a plausible and gratefull spectacle, Elias, Polycletus, Loculla, Patrobius, Petinius and others in letters drawn through the City and publiquely executed, as ministers of Nero in mischiefes, whereas Tigellinus the Master, not without notable congruitle, was by Galba protected. And notwithstanding the people in Theatres and all common assemblies ceased not unimportantly to demand his death, as an accomplishment of due and exemplary justice pleasing to God and man, yet gold with Vinius and Vinius with Galba weighed so much, that not one by himselfe had received undervelved protection, but also for his sake the people were rebuked by publike edict. Whereupon Tigellinus solemnizing the feast of his deliverance, Vinius rose from supper with Galba and went thither with Crispana his daughter to banquet, upon whom Tigellinus bestowed a course of * a thousand thousand sesterces in ready money, and beside all the jewels and Caractanes of his principal minion which fater there at table, by estimation * six hundred thousand sesterces. Beside Tigellinus one Halotus of all Neroes instruments the most pernicious, was likewise by Galba protected, and preferred also to an honorable office. Now for nerencesse Galba was noted extremely, a vice though incident to age, yet doubtlesse in a Prince much mislike, and in a new Prince dangerous. To a certaine Musician which had wonderfully pleased, he gave with his owne hands out of his owne purse * twenty sesterces: and to his Steward at the making up of his Books a reward from his Table. But that which was most materiall of all, and prepared the way to his fall, was his hardnesse towards the soldiery: to whom large donative being promised in Galbas name, and requiring if not so much, yet so much at least as they were wont to receive, he wholly refused the which: adding withall, That soldiery he took up in the mutter, 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

* That is a bours eight thousand pound English
* Almost live thousand pound English
* Three million English
The end of Nero, &c.

Seasons for him, who suffered himself to be sold every hour, and abused to all purposes; to be governed by three pedagogues, Vinius and Laco his favorites, and Icelus 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 look when the first occasion is offered against him to be charged with all the whole reckoning together. To him that suffers the injury, it matters not much whom made the motion when he feeleth the hand that is heavy upon him. Thus Galba though innocent of much harm which passed 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 way to his own destruction.

FINIS.
THE FIRST BOOKE
OF THE HISTORY OF
CORNELIUS TACITVS.

I. The Proeme of Tacitus, wherein be professed simple dealing
without partiality.

The beginning of my Workes shall be at the yere, when Servius Galba
was (1) second time Consull with Titus Vinius. For the ancient sto-
rize of the people of Rome, for seven hundred and twenty yeres af-
ter the City was founded, (2) many excellent men have delivere-
d with no leffe eloquence then liberty of speche: but when as after the
battell at Actium, the whole soveraignt, as it was meet for the peace of the State,
was conferred upon one, thoes worthy wits were no more to be found, and withall
the truth of the story was diversely weakened: partly (3) because having 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 deface them. So betweene malice
of the one side, and awed partialitie of the other, small regard there was taken by
either, how pottieritie should be truely enlarged. But that endeavour, to pleafe
and winne thankes, in a Writer a man shall easilly mislike, having in it the foule note
of servilitie: detraecting and envious carping, carrying a counterfeit shew of liber-
tie, oft findeth a good and gracious audience. Now for Galba, Otho, Vitellius,
to me they are as unknowne, for either benefit or wrong I have found at their
hands. My first rising, I will not deny, was under Vespasian, my State bettered by
Titus, and fo further advanced by Domitian: but they which make profession of
the simple truth, may not fay ought of any man for love or for hatred. Hereafter,
if the gods spare me life, I purpose when I am old, to set down the story of (4) Prince
Nerva of sacred memory, and of the Emperor Trajane, a more plentiful and safe
matter to deale in, where a man may think what he will, and say what he thinkes:
a rare felicite of the time.

(1) When S e r v i u s G a l b a was second time Consull) Cornelius Tacitus, whom Vopiscus called, wrote two severall volumes of histories: one from the death of Augustus, as it may feeme,
to the Calends of January next after the death of Nero, comprehending Tiberius, Caesar, Claudius, and Nero's
time, and the greater part of Galba; another from the said Calends to the death of Domitian. Of this latter vol-
ume in order of time, howsoever it was in order of writing, the first foure books comprize the history of one yere
and some moneths onely, from the beginning of January, when Galba and Vinius entred their Consullships, in the
yere 812; and contineth 88 a. according to Tacitus, or rather the content of the Empire in that time. Claudii Caesare
quantam, Priscio in consulis, fath he, in Annalium, part two and twentie yeres before Galba and Vinius, let vs scule
re collectum post Romam et Io anno declitatis four, which account exceeded the Capitollin as they call it by one
yere, and agree fully with (a) Varo, (b) Cicero (c) Plince and (d) Dioes recpecting. Now although the Prince a
Cornelius, 1. Consullus et, and an officer may seem in one person incompatible qualities, yet the outcome of that State beareth, that the Empe-
rouer the first yere of his Empire of order, and elections upon pleafure supplied the one Consull place. The reason
is in Appian 1. Epis. 1. Sylla albit he was Diuffive, yet for a colour and glem of popular go-
vernment was conuered to be made Consull againe with Titullus Postumus, and from hence he proceded prudentie, that even at
this day, the Romane Princes, whom they name Consulls for the State, divers times pronounce them selves also, not disdainning even
with their states autoriety to joyn also the title of Consull. Now the first Consullate of Galba was (c) foure yeres befoe
Tiberius death, obtained by favour of Livia Augustisa, faith Plutarch in Galba. Necessque honoris te expectat fortunae
adigitur; which I thinkes is an oversight, for he was dead foure yeres before, in small favour with her sonne, and
they in smaller, that sought by her means to rise in honours. Tacit. i. Annalium. Roma & part ejusdem epistola se pape

The year of the City 812.
The first Book of the History


(1) Many excellent men] Principally meant, as I take it, of Livius, although his story reaches somewhat further, than those of whom we write, that remaine: and of his liberty, Tact. 4. Annot. in the oration of Cremutius Cordus. Titus Livius eloquentia ad fidem praeclarius imprimis Ca. Pompeium eum Augustas opperatorum, nec igitur amissum eum officiis. Sic enim, Afranius, hosti timentum Cæsarumque lapides & pertinentes, quae sunt, ab omni vandalo impune, non volvi, ut incideret usum omnem.

(2) Because having no part in the Hare they were ignorant: Insiaria rhoph aline. Alcila ignoravit, either because we cannot, or because we care not to know them. The first fermen here to have place: wherefore before the people and Senate of Rome to ok knowledge of all that was done witterfore, now the most important actions of that paper thinner fewer instances in more certte fort, Dio, lib. 59, and Dionysius, quo igitur humana bella praeveiligato, uerum se praebuit, quis, ut si adversus eum iam quod vidit, uerba concinia.

(4) Prince Neru of sacrord memory: Principes Dion Neru empriprima Trajani] To certaine Emperours the Senate for their good government, or impurposed by their faceflowers, awarded temple & curtie, regalities, and the title of Divus. And not only to the Princes themelves, but sometimes to their wives, mothers, and children also: as we read in the histories. Appendix 1 Epitaph, &c. non de Viris illustribus, speaking of Divus Julius in his epitath. This was also by another method, that is, From Julius Caesar downward all the Princes, except they were tyrants, or extremly vices, were by the Romans deified after their deaths.

From Decem horum Principum, eum esse beatissimum quam agit inter homines, non etiam, sicut Albion Appian, That is, The most part of effects begun in secrecy set to be dished, whereof the certaine truth no man booke, except the doers themselves.

(5) During that time] As of the 12. hourts dinner & or watch-tower, which giveth light in the night. Thus all being placed in order, the gentlemen firft ride about it, & after that, being staid at the entry of the Palace in (1) an Ivory bed covered with cloth of gold, the Senate and Ladies assisting in mounting attire. The Physicians daily referred unto him to touch his pulse, and consider in collig of his disease, aloft, and at their departure resolving that he grew in worse & worst terms, and hardly would escape. As the end of (m) even dusk, he passed, and found by their learning the crisis belike being bad, that the patient was departed: whereupon some of the Senates appointed for that purpose, & principall gentlemen, taking up the bed on their shoulders carried it thorow Via Sacra into the Forum; where a company of young gentlemen of greatest birth flonging on the one side, & maid on mothers, the one to the other, in solemn and mournefull note, with all kind of other musicall and mellow.

Afterward they carried the hero out of the city into Campus Martius, where a square tower was builded of timber, large at the bottom, and of comperch height to receive wood and fodies sufficiently, outwardly bedecked and hung with cloth of gold, imagery work, and curious pictures. Upon that tower stood a second turret in figure and furniture like to the first, but somewhat lesse, with windows & doors standing open, wherein the hero was placed, and all kinde of spiceries & odours, which the whole world could yeat, heaped therein; and so a third & foure turret.

In the conterection of the dead Prince, cintined in a solemn and mournefull note, with all kind of other mutton and mellowness. The ceremonies of all this they opened, and found by their learning the crisis belike being bad, that the patient was departed: whereupon some of the Senates appointed for that purpose, & principall gentlemen, taking up the bed on their shoulders carried it thorow Via Sacra into the Forum; where a company of young gentlemen of greatest birth flonging on the one side, & maid on mothers, the one to the other, in solemn and mournefull note, with all kind of other musicall and mellow.

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not likewise the Senators reward, ut senem saepe eximereat, ut fatae diceriantur, ut capas uno trabulum in telluris,e t.

I. A general view of the whole History following.

Worke I take here in hand containing sundry changes, bloody battels, violent mutinies, peace full of cruelty and peril: foure Emperours slaine with sword, three civil wars, forraigne many moe, and oft both at once: good success in the East, bad in the West: Illyricum troubled, the countries of Gallia wavering: Britannia all conquered, not all retained: invasions of the Sarmatian and Suevian nation: the Dacian giving and taking notable overthrows: the Parthians also almost in arms, abused by a counterfeit Nero. Now for Italy, it was afflicted with many miseries, some never heard of, some not of many yeeres before: townes burnt or overwhelmed: most fruitfull tract of Campania, and the city of Rome wafted by fire: the most ancient temples consumed to ashes: even the Capitol it selfe set on fire by the citizens owne hands: the holy ceremonies profaned: great adulteries: the lands replenished with banished men: the cliffs staine with blood: and yet greater rage of cruelty in the city. To have beene wealthy or nobly borne, was a capall crime; offices of honour likewise either to beare them, or forbear them; and vertue the ready broad way to most affured destruccion. Neither were the wicked praetices of the informers more odious, then was the recompence they obtained: some gained, as spoiles, Pontissical dignities, and Consuls roomes: some other Procuratorships and inward credit, making havocke of all without any difference. The bondmen upon hatred or fear, wereallured to betray their owne masters, the freeman his patron, and where enemies were wanting, one friend ruined another. And yet for all this, was not the age so utterly voyde of all good, but that it yeelded some good examples; divers wise were content to take such part as their banished husbands did; divers mothers, as their children; some kinsfolke hardy; some fones in law faithfull; some bondmen no rack could remove from being 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 so manifold changes in humane affaires, many prodigious fights were feene in heaven and earth; many forewarnings by thunders; many prefages of things to come, some portending good lucke, some bad; some ambiguous and doubtfull, some plaine and evident: such heavy and horrible calamities in the Roman estate, yeelding proofes never more pregnant, that the gods are carefull rather to revenge our wronges, then provide for our safety. But before I enter into my purposed matter, I think good to rehearste first, what the state of the city was, how the soldiers were affected, in what terme the provinces stood, and what there was anywhere in the whole Empire found or complaining: so shall we see the reasons and causes of things, not onely the bare events, which are most commonly governed by fortune.

1. And oft both at once: As pleumaque permixta] Both at once, or peradventure both in one, as in Antonius Triumcm army at the taking of Cremona, ciuitatis, foecis externar interjecta. Tacitus 3. Hist, and in the same books: Principis Sarmatarum: Jovinum in commissionem saeget, trabadam in pars Sic atque Italicae regum Sarmatorum, so that this warre, and such like, though in respect of their captains civil, by reason of external helps might be called permixta.

2. Illyricum troubled] As in Otho's time by the Roxolani. Tacitus in this first book, in Vitellius, by the Tacis: Tacis, hist. in Vepahsians by the Sarmatian: Josephus 3. Ant. 7. c. 3. and generally the nations upon that border invaded the Romans under Domitian. Tacitus in the life of Agricola.

3. Britannia all conquered, &c, Britannia perdomia: & latim mihi colorante in Sarmatarum et Suevorum genere: Some learned men correct this place, which no doubt is corrupted, thus: perdomia Britannia: as Jucundus and others: some Sarmatarum et Suevorum genere, perdomia Britannia is meant by Julius Agricola in Domitian time. Tacitus in this

Agricola 2
The first Book of the History

4.

Agricola: Quia tum demum perdidimini Britanniam: now must it be left again in the same Domitians time (for this mystery perhaps no further) which cannot be proved by any story, nor by any slender conjecture. Tacitus writ

The life of Agricola in Trajans time, Eutichius fortis, faith he, rep. tempora, quae fieri Agricolam non fuisse it tia ecretar

in Mysia/Asiacei, & Germania Parumanteis, terrae in per ignaniu, quam adiss: ite militari virtus ear: and the rest of the story, but (some disasters) being added, does not spoil the compleat of this history, and as it is likely, of his life that wrote it, I will easily believe it was not intended to be briefed in this place. More according to the story, and with lege changes in the letter, we may thus annote it: Agricolam per didimini: & flaxin mississaha (i. missa, Spiritus) contras Gesturamist at Suscueram gratus, to signify that all Britannia was conquered, but not all retained. App. voi. "Suscribatur, for he, as he thought, bring to us (as you think) the office of procurator of the office, & by the Romans, or by the Princes of Persia, generally by his most sure and trusty servitors. And this was their first institution. Besides this they were

Altered by a counterfeit Nero! This happened in Titus time. Xiphilinus, in his Epistol. lib. 65, "I also write that I was in the city that was burned, and I saw the destruction of what is reported."

5. The most fruitful tract of Campania, and the City of Rome waited for his. Sec. Tit. cap. 3. Ludum, he makes great transactions with his, or with his men in Campania, and, according to the per

Commodus, King of the Parthians, who bearing ill will to Titus gave him entertainment, and made provision to return to Rome, and to execute the sentences of the emperor's
terest."

The hands, &c. Penum exillis mart. More pros. infal. So Tac. 4. Ann. calleth Sibyllis, Sibyllas, in his story, because of contempt for such commonly were the hands, into which the reformers were sent. The usual hands of deportation were Pandateria, Planalia, Ceretina, Serphium, Cyrene, Cythera, Amorgus, Donuia, Trimerus, Balsates, Sardinia, Naxus, and perhaps others.

6. The hands, &c. Infal. infal. The refugia in insulam were commonly upon a second meagled side to some creeks or promontory, and to quickly made away, or to perambulate some here pros insulam, as was before.

Or because there: Xiphilinus Dominiano, maketh mention of Herennianus Scæco, whom Domitian put to death, because after the Quisition he had not demanded in all his life any higher office. Tacitus in Vista Agri.. Salutaris temere populatocarmen effaceretur, & quibusdam a fide consilii Agriolo son deus (Domitianus) feriatur."

7. And a similar passage is in Seneca, in the 80th book, "The Roman, &c."


10. Praecipitamur: Non acced, faith Cicero pro Certe, dictur, quibus quaeram rem, quis in Italia non sit, aliquem esse, quaerere, postea dato, quod est, e alia, dominum, Aut Appian translatit hic, & quo sine tellus, loco, aut Posidinius, cujus quaerit vitam, cujus quaerit vitam, cujus quaerit vitam."

Of this general notion, the word is particularly applied, which were appointed from this province (be it the President, or Lieutenants) who were, treasurers or receivers to gather upon the revenues of the Empire. Dio l. 13. 3, "We call them, which receive, and according to their commissions pay not the common revenues. Tac in Vista Agricolae bring

Then the Britains make the Britains: Sibyllis, qui utr in regni auspiciis, quæmum quæstio, et sibyllas, ut assiduis conditio, &c. Claudius especially enlarged the office, 1otius, faith 1 Tacitus, apud audia vestis, pater enim nostrorum refor-
of Cornelius Tacitus.

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The death of Nero, as it was at the first very joyfully received, so wrought it anon very divers effects in the minde of the Senate at home; the people and City-souldier, and of all the Legions, and captains abroad, perceiving the secret of state disclosed, that a Prince might be made elsewhere then at Rome. The Lords of the Senate were glad, finding their liberty straightway put in practice, making indeed very bold with their Prince, as being new in state, and away: next were the principal Gentlemen as in degree, so in rejoicing; of the people the founder fort, and such as were linked with great houses, the followers and freed-men of condemned and exiled persons were raised to hope: the base people noised up in the *Race and Theaters, together with the worst fort of bondmen, and those which having eaten their owne, lived only now upon Neroes dishonours, hung down the head, and listned for novelties. The City-souldiers poftessed with the oath of allegiance so many deports * to the house of the Cæsars, and to forfake Nero being wrought rather by art and cunning persuasion of others, then of their owne motion, when they saw the donative, which was promised them in Galbaes name, not to be performed, nor the like pudditures and means of great defect, and great gaine in peace, as in warre; seeing also their thankes prevented by the Legions, who first proclaimed the new Prince: upon these and the like respects being prone to innovation, they were pricked forward by means of Nymphidius Sabinus their captain, who by treason aspired himselfe to the Empire. And though Nymphidius was in the very attempt suppressed, and the head cut off thereby of the treason; yet there remained many of the souldiers guilty of the fact, and hating him whom they had wronged. Moreover speeches were given out, noting the age and avarice of Galba. His severity, which was wont to be highly commended by the common voyce of the souldier, was now displeasent to them, who were generally weary of the ancient discipline, and so trained up by Nero fourteen yeares, that now they loved their Emperours no lesse for their vices, then once they reverence them for their vertues. And Galba had let fall a speech honourable indeed for the common wealth, but for himself dangerous, That souldiers he took up in the muster, bought not in the market; for the rest of his doings were not according. His two favorites, Titus Vinius, and Cornelius Laco, the one of all mortall men most unhonest, the other most unable, with the hatefulnesse of their lewd actions surcharged, & with the contempt of their insufficiencie, utterly overthrew the filly old man. His journey to Rome was slow and bloody: for by his commandement Cingonius Varro Consull elect, and Petronius Turpilianus who had beene Conful, were both put to death: Cingonius, as an associate of Nymphidius, the other as one of Neroes Captaines: who howsoever they deferred it, dyeing as they did, not called, not heard, died as guiltele. His entrie into the City, when as so many thousands of unarmed souldiers were put to the sword, seemed an unluckie beginning, and was had in horror, even of those which executed the slaughter. The City was full of extraordinary souldiers: Galba brought in the Spanish Legion, and there remained another, which Nero had gathered out of the Navie, beside many companies out of the Legions of Germanie, Britannie, and Illyricum, which Nero had selected, and sent before to the straits of the Caspian mountains, for the warrre intended with the Albanes, and afterward called againe to employ
of Cornelius Tacitus.

employ against Vindex: matter enough for invocation, though not greatly in favour of any, yet ready prepared for him that would venture. By chance the news came together that Clodius Macer, and Fonteius Capito were slaine. Macer without question had begun to worke troubles in Africke, and was by Trebonius Garucianus the Procurator dispatched, by commandment from Galba: Capito in Germany attempting the like, Cornelius Aquinus and Fabius Valens (7) Lieutenants of Legions, slew without warrant. Some men were of opinion that Capito (though otherwise for extortion and vicious living very infamous) was nevertheless not guiltie 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 so 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 surely both the executions were greatly misliked, as in a prince once in obloque, do he well do he ill, all is ill taken. Now his freedmen being over mighty, made open sale of all matters: his bondmen greedy upon present advantage, and haughty, as being under a master that was old, and not like long to continue: in summe the faults in the new court being but the fame, and of the like nature, yet were not excused alike, the very age of Galba was matter of some contempt to them that were used to Neroes freth youth, comparing the Princes, as the manner is of the common fort, in beautie and comeliness of presence. And this was at Rome, as in such a variety, the state of mens mindes. Now for the provinces abroad, of Spain Cluvius Rufus was president, a person very eloquent, and for service in peaceable, in warre unexpert. Those of Gallia, beside the memory of Vindex, were another way allured to Galba, being of late by him made citizens of Rome, and released of part of their tribute for the time to come; only the cities which lay nearest the armies of Germany, having not the like honour done, & some beside having part of their territory taken away, were aggrieved as well with their fellows benefits, as with their own wrongs. The fouldiers of Germany (a perillous matter in so mightie armies) swelled with pride upon their late victory, and again, as having supported in some degree the contrary side, were perplexed with fear, they were slow in revolting from Nero: neither did Verginius declare himself at the first for Galba: whether he defined the Empire himself, or no, was a question: without question his fouldiers made him a prefer. The death of Fonteius Capito even they stomached, that could not unjustly complain: onely there wanted an head, Verginius being sent for away colour of friendship: whom when they saw not to be sent back, and moreover his doings called in question, they took it all as their own cafe. The army of upper Germany made light reckoning of Hordeonius Flaccus their Lieutenant, a man aged and gowtie without resolution, without authority, unable to rule a quieter company, now being in fury, and finding him weake to govern the bridle, they stirr'd and troubled the more. The legions of lower Germany were a while without a Lieutenant general, till at length Vitellius came, sent by Galba, the fonne of Vitellius which had been Cenfor, and thrice Consulf: that seemed sufficient. The armie in Britain was quiet; and in truth among all the legions, in all those civill troubles, none behaved themselves more innocently: whether it was, that they were farre off, and severed by sea, or that by continual exploits against the enemy, the malice of their humour was spent otherwise. Illyricum also stirr'd not, although the Legions which Nero had called thence, while they lingered in Italy, had sent to Verginius to offer
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their service, but the armies being farre asunder (a point moft holefome to keepe
souldiers in due faith and allegiance) could not joyn neither faults nor forces togethe-
ther. The East as yet was calm. Licinius Mutianus with foure legions ruled Syria,
a man in the courfe of good and bad fortune famous alike: in his youth he had to
his cōst wound himself into the acquaintance of great men; anon wealth wearing
away, his state decaying, subpee[tng also the displeasure of Claudius, he withdrew
himselfe from Rome into Afia, then as noere to the state of an exiled person, as after
he was to the state of an Emperor: of riot, and induftry, of curtſeſe and arrogancy,

of good and ill parts strangely compounded: pleasures excessive, when his leisure
served: when the cafe required, excellent vertues: openly praiſe worthy, his secret
actions were ill spoken of: but generally with them under him, with them about
him, with his companions in office, by divers allurements very gracious; and such
a one as could more easily deliver the Empire to another, then obtaine it himſelfe.
Flavius Vespaſianus with three legions governed the Jewish war, appointed Gen-
eral by Nero; a man that wished to Galba but well, and never meant to attempt a
singly him, for he had sent his fonne Titus to doe him his duty, as anon in conven-
ient place shall be declared. After the event we surely beleevde, that the Empire
was by the secret course of fate, by lignes and oracles fore-appointed to Vespaſian
and his line. (10) Egypt and the gaſtions there the gentlemen of Rome ever since
Augustus time have ruled with royalty allurtrite: for fo it was thought expedient to
ride and ake under a province of hard acceffe, fruitfull of grain, sedition
and variable through superſition and wantonneffe, not accustomed to obey any
law, to agnize any magiftrate. m Tiberius Alexander, a man borne in the countrey,
was governor there. Africke and the Legions there, Claudius Maced being flain,
liked well enough of any Prince whatſoever, having had * triall of a meaner mafter.
The one Mauritania and * the other, Rhoetia, Noricum, Thracia, and the other
countreys ruled by Procurators, as they lay neere to any of the armies, were fwayed
to like or dislike, as it liked their betteres hat bordered about them. The Provi-
cences which were unfurniſhed of forces, and especially Italy it felſe, lying open to
be subdus by any, were to become the prize of the warre. And this was the state
of the Romāne Empire when Servius Galba second time Conſull with Titus Vi-
nius, began the yeere which was laſt to themſelves, and laſt almoſt to the Common-
wealthe alfo.

1 Cite souldier J] The souldiers that were refiant at Rome were of two forts, Praetorian and Viβani proprirr dif delivery
both of them by 1 acture and else where comprehended by the name of Mikes urbans, and urbans longe Cеfæ-
arium sacramentum imbus; and again re urbans quietn moltiβaia condemnatus, meaning onely or principally of the Prae-
torians. In his proper significacion and standing in oppoſition to Pretoriani, Tacit. add. die in urbans cohabiens, & ple-
fores pretorianus. Agam, quod tenuia in Pretorionum, Vībanique mihi aitiam deducit: now when it doth fand for
the one, or for both, onely circumftance mull help to difcern.

2 That secret of fate disclosed: Ezagato imperii arcana] Ezagato arcana imperii viſe mave feme to be that which Di-
ſenius in the place before alluded calleth 'ingenium ingeniæ nec fapiens'; fapientiam, in affairs of
state to reveal the good openly intended; and the ill secretly intended. Notwithstandings arcana imperii, being in
mine opinion fo fundry in natura can hardly be bounded with one definition. Tac An..Cæsari Galli in quinquen-
natione magistratum conditum habeunda: hard dubium fuerat cum fententia autiam prætorum, & arcana imperii tentari: the secret of
flate herein was, that whereas hope of honour or gain is the only sovereign mean in court to entice futes and fer-
vants in diligence and due devotion; to make fa¢te wayers and for many yeares
before hand to drive the reft to defeare. In the fame book, Arcanum inter alia donum inimici arcana, uerba ambiguæ,
ingenii inveniantur aut equiibus Romanus inilibs, fo proful Astigium ne fae fagittam, quibusca in componimurum, low-
fracue term in mortuum quem in ipso redactus in ingenti exercidio fidei. The secret is, in a countyr which rebel-
ling might endanger the state, never to suffer men of great houes, or greater credit among the common people to
have acceffe. In this place, as it may feeme, are meant the secret truths of appearances in affairs of eftate, for the maſs
of the people is guided and governed more by ceremonies and fhears then matter in substance. The example of an
act done in undue place, whereof there had been no precedente before. In conjugate a Prince of Rome were to be
created at Rome, and an Emperour in the seat-townne of the Empire, and fo it had been always obferved: but the
trucr
of Cornelius Tacitus.

truth was, and so much the secret imported, that in substan
ce it mattered not much where he were made, that after
ward could maintain it with arms, and with the good liking of
the subjects of the Empire. This secret of state
Galba disclosed, and making his protest thereof against Nero, gave occasion to other to restate the like against him.

The folly and naivety of Germany in the choice of Vellius, as Plutarch reporteth, and to benevolence, a thing notorious in the
Romans was the ease of Germanicus, in which, as Tacitus says, he

To the straits of the Caupan mountains

3. Legatus legi

7. Lieutenant of Legs

8. Provinces abroad: E

2. lieutenant of legion: Legati legi

5. To the straits of the Caupan

4. His journey to Rome was slow: Tacitus 12.

1. His journey to Rome was slow: Tacitus 12.

6. To the straits of the Caupan mounta

9. 2.

7. Lieutenant of Legio

8. Provinces abroad: E
quiet and peaceable countreyes he rendered into the Senate and peoples hand; the provinces that limited and bor-
dured the Empire, with the rest where any rebellion, or warre might be feared, he retained to himselfe, and his 
fuelours, in shew to fustaine himselfe all danger alone, and leave to the Senate the sweet at their eafe, but in 
 truth to keep himselfe always armed, and them without arms. To the Senate and people, as Strabo, and 
(7) Dio write, belonged these provinces following, which Tacitus, if he be not deceived, calleth Publicius Pro-
vinciarum, Duke confessors, Africke with Numidia, and Africa so called because the two provinces were properly alli-
aged that which he had beene Consulis, whereas for the rest it sufficeth to have borne inferior office; and decrep 
province, Beatice, Narbonen, Sardina, Corsica, with Sardinia, Sicilia, Epiphia, the Benign and Lycia, Cy-m ioni, 
Cyprus, Puteus, Phrygian, but Bythia. To himselfe he retained Bispania Tarracenti, Lusatia, Gallia 
Lugunensis, Belgica, Aquitania, Syria, &c. Cilicia, Aegypt, Dalmatia, Mauretania, and the tract of 
Rhene upon the French side calleth by the name of superior and inferior Germany, as it is also at this day called 
Germania, but by Caesar's description comprehended in Gallia, and a very part of Belgium, who knew no other 
Germaniae, but that which the late writers call for difference sake +i. +. Great Germany, beyond the Rhine: 

Nervia circa affectionem Girmancecgini, ultrobitio; sunt, tanquam per hand gloriain sanguini, iis similitadine & 
inertia... 

...cu, Vaiges, because the Germans continually passing the Rhene inhabited the countrey, and thereby little by little and little changed the 
were Magno, whereas Tacitus in this first book naming often Germany, meaneth alwayes the other two Provinces; so calleld 
Nemites, &c. 

Twuo mania. these two Germanics, filpior saith Dio, was *** *** (*) *. That is, from the head of the 

...omnia; praetorian, &c. * increased the Emperours Place. Now the governours that were sent into the Senatescoun 

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audaque. Pravocertamine legatorum ius aboluit, dux turitate officii, vel quin in tribus majorem uland; cura. 

...of his provinces following, which " Tacitus, if I be not deceived, calleth Publicius Pro 

truthto keep him alwayes armed, and them without armed. To the Senate and people, as Strabo, and 
...systemati & insin Gallarum sparsitas, istam or ipso hand dabit Germanorum populi omnium Viri 

...treys,both Praetorian and consular, were called Proconsuls, whether they had ever been Consuls or no. Tho 

mygºsº. Trajans, &c. * increas the Emperours Portia. Now the governours that were sent into the Senatescoun 

-- * --

... keeps himselfe alwayes armed, and them without armado. To the Senate and people, as Strabo, and 
...emperors of the Pyrenean provinces, Egypt only excepted, the Governours were taken out of the 

...in the Princes countries; and in Claudius time damatus leges rep. inordinam Cadius Rufus accusabatur Bithynias, 

...or the Roman Empire, as England in Caesar times, Pontus Pontoloxion, and Asia Cilicia in the world, to 

-- * --

...'s stores beside Procurators; in the Princes, Procurators onely. 

...moralium, asuming the Ensignes of theiroffice which they alwayes retained untill their returne. Now for the 

...now used in the Princes countries; and in Claudius time damatus leges rep. inordinam Cadius Rufus accusabatur Bithynias, 

...and Proconsuls? That is, The name of Propretor he gave to those of his owne choice, and continued their office more or leffe during pleasure, appointing 

...that they should wear the Paludamentum and sword, as having authority of life and death over the fouldiers. Tacitus in this book speaking of Gallia Cenonensis a publick province; Finius, faith he, proconsulat Galli 

...a sevewer exit, whonever had been Consul before: Annalium, 1 finde Gramius Marcellus called 

...trend to the Prince, &c. Creator of Bithynia, which was at the first division a publick province, and so continued as appeareth out of 

...in the Princes provinces, here served them for his owne choice, and appointed that they should be termed 

...fore he gave to those of his owne choice, and continued their office more or leffe during pleasure, appointing 

...procurators; as small provinces before we have noted Dio lib. 35. et alit quo num majorem ultum habere, sed in parte superiore, que 

...for the publique Provinces annuell, and chosen by lot (except they were conferred on any some 

...provinces, as of marriage or multitude of children) and sent out as if they were from the body the Senat not 

...Heres, Proconsiparebant. Max C. Caesar 

...in the Provinces, excepting Africa alone, the Publicus Proprietor. of the Twelve provinces, which was at the fir 

...he got out of his owne choice, and continued their office more or leffe during pleasure, appointing 

...panywise, & cox; 34xx. & xxv. *.

...dwelling " the Princes 

...'s stores beside Procurators; in the Princes, Procurators onely. 

...name of Province, fore he gave to those of his owne choice, and continued their office more or leffe during pleasure, appointing 

...who had beene Consul before: Annalium, 1 finde Gramius Marcellus called 

...other Propretors, though they had peradventure borne the office of Consulhip before. Et pasu pop. 

...as many Sergeants attending auasually they had in the City. And asonne as they were out of the 

...of the Provinces, &c. if the provinces of their office which they always retained until their returne. Now for the 

...fore he gave to those of his owne choice, and continued their office more or leffe during pleasure, appointing 

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...who had beene Consul before: Annalium, 1 finde Gramius Marcellus called 

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...name of Province, fore he gave to those of his owne choice, and continued their office more or leffe during pleasure, appointing 

...who had beene Consul before: Annalium, 1 finde Gramius Marcellus called
of Cornelius Tacitus.

The adoption of Pisone.

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 leisest harmfully taken, had referred the choice thereof to the Senate and People of Rome. These news hardened the purpose of Galba, who had already a good while before deviled 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 license and luft to talk of such matters, and partly because Galba was spent and feeble for age: upon judgement or love to the Commonwealth very few, the most part upon secret hopes, as they favoured or followed this man or that, offered occasion to bring them in speech for the succession. And now Vinicius was grown into great hatred, who, as he waxed daily more mighty, so daily more odious: for Galba with his too much facility encreased and nourished the greedy and gaping desires of his friends never satisfied in so great meanes, and offending, as under a Prince weak of body, and light of belief, with leisest fear and greater advantage. The whole power of the prince was divided between Titus Vinicius the Conful, and Cornelius Laco captaine of the guard. Neither was Icelius the freed man inferior in favour with his master, who being priviledged to wear gold rings, and made a Gentleman, was commonly called by the name of Martianus. These three, otherwise disagreeing, and in points of leisest importance drawing every one a fundrie way, in this consultilation of choosing a successor were divided into two fides. Vinicius was for Marcus Otho: Laco and Icelius agreed not so much upon any one, as upon any other. Neither did Galba much like of the party,
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...pretending that Otho, having spent his tender years without regard of his honour, his youth afterward in all dishonorable disorder, in grace with Nero through emulation of vice, and therefore Nero had left in his custody, as with one that was privy to his lusts, Poppea Sabina his principal minion, till he had dispatched his hands of Octavia his wife: soon after upon an apprehension of jealousy, he sent a way into Lusitania, colourably to be Lieutenant there. Otho having governed the Province with all censure, and being the first that came into Galba, and therewith a man of action, and of those which were present during the war of greatest account, readily conceived hope of adoption, and daily took himself better assured, being well favoured of most of the soldiery, and greatly beloved of Nerone court, as one like to their late master. But Galba after the news of the German rebellion, although of Vitellius as yet he understood no certainty, being doubfull to what issue this violent proceeding of the Armies would grow, and repining no trust in the City-soldier, proceeded to declare a succession, the only stay, as he supposed, of his estate. And calling to him besides Vinius and Laco, Marius Celsus Consulf elect, and Ducenius Geminus *Provoft of the City, after some speech used of his age, he commandeth Piso Licinius to be sent for, either upon his own choice, or as some have reported, at the instance of Laco: who cunningly preferred him as a more stranger to him selfe, whereas indeed they had in Rubellius Plautius house, had long acquaintance together, and the good opinion which went generally of Piso, gave credit to his counsell. Piso was fonne to Marcus Craffus, and Scribonia, nobly borne on both sides; in countenance and presence (after the ancient fort, rightly to judge) sever, but to them which interpreted all to the worst, seeming too sweare. That quality of his, the more it was by some men, careful in that behalf, misdoubted and feared, the better it please the man, who was to adopt him. So Galba taking Piso by the hand, is said to have spoken in this manner.

If I shoulde as a private man only, by an act of the Curie and affent of the Priests, as the manner is, adopt you, it would be both an honour for me, to take into my family the progenie of Marcus Craffus and Pompey, and a glory for you, to adjoyn the honourable encrease of the nobility and Lutatian houses to your own nobility. But now being by the consent of gods and men called to the Empire, I am moved by your rare towards, and the love I beare to my countrey, to offer unto you, without your trouble, the princes place, that, for which our ancestors have contended in Armes, which by Armes my selfe have obtained: following herein the example of Augustus, who placed in estate next to him selfe, first Marcellus his fonne, afterward Agrippa his fonne in law, then his daughters fones, and lastly his wives fonne Tiberius Nero. But Augustus, as it seemeth, sought a successor in his family, and I in the common wealth. Not that I lack some near to me in blood, or companions in Armes, whom I could respect: but neither did I by ambition attain to the Empire, and of my judgement herein may be proofe, not only mine own friends passed over, but yours also. A brother you have, noble alike, in yeares before you, well worthy of this honour, were not you the more worthy. Your yeares are such, as are setled from the affections of youth, and so spent; as nothing
nothing past needeth excuse. Hitherto you have tasted only of adverse fortune: prosperity searcheth more deeply the mind, for miseries are borne with patience, felicity corrupteth. Integrity, friendship, round and free dealing, the principal gift of the mind, you for your part, no doubt will retain as heretofore, but in others towards you, in respect of your degree, you shall find it to be otherwise: flattery will break 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 talk with our estate, then our persons: for indeed to persuade a Prince that which is meek, is a point of some pain, to flatter any Prince whatsoever, needeth small endeavours. If this vast body of the Empire could stand without governor balanced in due proportion & order, the free Common-wealth might worthily have taken beginning from me: but now it is come long ago to that paffe, that neither mine age can benefit the people of Rome any way more, then in finding them a good succifor, nor your youth, then in yeelding them a good Prince. Under Tiberius, Caius, and Claudius, we have been as it were the inheritance of one only family: it will be in head of liberty, that we begin to succeed by election: and now the Julian and Claudian lines bespent, adoption will still finde out of the best: for to be descended of Princes, is a matter of meere fortune, and so is esteemed: in adoptions our judgement is most incorrupt, and false domesfied, and if we will choose of the fittest, the voice of the moit will point us our man. Set Nero before your eyes, whom, being descended of so many Caesars, his own infamous life and unutterable cruelty cast out of state, nor Vindex with an unarmed Province, nor I with one Legion: neither was there before a precedent of any Prince by publick sentence deposed. We that came in, not by decent, but called in by war and opinion of desert, how honorably ever we carry our selves, yet shall we be sure to have our envions. And yet be not dismained, if in this troubled and shaken estate of the world, one Legion or two be not yet settled. I my selfe found not all so fortunate at the first: and when this adoption shall be heard of abroad, I shall ceafe to seem an old man, the only exception they take now against me. Nero shall double! be misfled, and wished among the lewd Fort: you and I must provide, left good men also do with him again. To admonish you long ere is not for this time, and my intent is fully performed, if I have, as I hope, chosen aright. The surest and shortest rule to fort our good men from evil, is to weigh what your selle would under another Prince have allowed or blamed: for you have not here, as in kindomes, a certain race borne to sovereignty, and the rest to be slaves; but you are to govern a people, which cannot bear, neither bondage, nor liberty meerely without mixture.

Thefe and thefe like words Galba used as creating a Prince, but the rest that were present, spake as to a Prince already created. Piso is said to have uttered no motion, as of a minde either troubled or excessive in joy, neither then nor afterward when every mans eyes were fixt upon him. His speech to his father, and sovereign was respective, and reverent; concerning himselfe very modest: in countenance and gestures not changed, shewing himselfe rather able to furnish the place, then defirous. Then consultation was had, where the adoption should be pronounced; before the people, in the Senate, or in the camp, the camp was preferred, to honour the fouldier thereby, whose good will and favour, as it was by mony and crowding not to be bought, so got by good meanes would not be conteined. In the meanse season Publicke expectation, which suffereth not any great secret long to be secret, had as it were, becket the Palace about: and the same finding an issue, was afterward
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terward by suppressing encreased. 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, stayed not Galba from going to the camp, contemning such things as casual, or because that which is by fate allotted though somet ime foreshewed, is never avoided. There in full assembly of the soldiers with brevity prince like he pronounceth, that he adopteth Piso, following the example of Augustus of sacred memory, and according to that military fashion, where 9 each man makest choice of his fellow. And left the German rebellion shoul d, if it were concealed, be deemed the greater, he fleweth them pурpofely, that the fourth and eighteenth Legion misfled by a few mutinous perfons had erred in words onely, and terms, and shortly would be reclaimed: and so concluded his speech, beftowing upon them neither eloquence nor money. The Tribunes notwithstanding, and Centurions, and soldiers which stood neare about him, returned a plauſible anſwer: there to of the company were silent and sad, as having lost now their donative in warre, which they had used to of duty in peace to receive. It is very certaine, their hearts might well have been wonne with never so little liberality of the sparing old man: his too much preciseneffe did harme, and that ancient rigour, which we in our time are not able to beare. From thence Galba went to the Senate and there made a speech neither fuller, nor finer, then before to the soldiers. Pifoes oration was curteous, and the Senatours shewed themſelves forward, many which liked him indeed, very farre, others that wiſhed him not, in a good mediocrity: but moſt, very ready humbly to proffer all duty and service upon private respects, without care of the common. Neither did Pifo say or doe publicly any thing else the other foure daies, that were between his adoption, and slaughter.

1 Who being priviledged to weare gold rings: Quem annulam donatum? In Spine when he brought the news of Neroes death, Annula d' aus is all one with equites dignitate donaret. Tac. Hist. postulat exercit e ad libertatem fum. Astituicium equi f dignitate donaret sabone tam adulationem complexit. (Vitellius) Dem sublatum ingeniis quod pab. abor teat, mea favis centuriae ingredi, honoravisse Astituicium annulas factum minimis, et mala actiones eramus, Sensis, a Vitellio, primo imperio dies aquae donavit annulas super canas, quam maxima quasdam pro ad utilitatem deferretis et f inter caelestium equitum ordinem maximum; speaking of the same man which Tacitus Dio lib. 48. Annunasque to acuante ille abrogat, *την τ' ἀκραίαν ἐποίησα οὐκοῦντος (Metam de Nero) That is, Augustus honoured Menas with golden rings, and tressed him among the Equites. For in ancient time, though afterward wealth increasing every one began to have in gold, yet the \( \text{græca} \) himself had \( \text{græca} \) in the \( \text{græca} \) himself, \( \text{græca} \) in the \( \text{græca} \), \( \text{græca} \) in the \( \text{græca} \) in the \( \text{græca} \). That is, among the ancient Romans it was not lawfull for any (1 meane not of those only which had been some time flavers, but of all others free born and liberally brought up) to weare gold rings, except he were either senator or equs, and therefore the Princes bestowed this upon the freed men whom they favour as a great honour, though otherwise they weare rings of gold, as being thereby made better then common freed men and equal in degree with the Equites. This privilege the Prince conferred not only upon his own, but also upon other mens liberty, (although \( \text{græca} \) or \( \text{græca} \) \( \text{græca} \) in the \( \text{græca} \) that, \( \text{græca} \) to \( \text{græca} \) that, \( \text{græca} \) to \( \text{græca} \). That is, Nerou used Otho, as his inward friend and companion because of his riot, and being often noted by him of praising and aggardedle he took it in very good part, and it is reported that on a time Nero, as he was anointing with a very costly ointment, having beprinkled Otho with a little thereof, the day following Otho entertaining him again for divers comers silver and golden pipes, spouting out the ointment like water and washing the place. Plutarchus Galba. In this case we must look here, he then in the same situation of things, is the more agreeable to sight of the \( \text{græca} \) or \( \text{græca} \) or \( \text{græca} \) or \( \text{græca} \). That is, there was one M. Salvius Otho so familiar with Nero both for likeness of their conditions, and fellowship in vices, that when once in speech with Nero he let fall a word: So you may see me Emperor as this, and this is a truth, he did him no harme, but only replied, No I will not so much as see thee a Consul. Xiphilinus Nerone.

2 In grace with Nero, &c. When \( \text{græca} \) he \( \text{græca} \) in \( \text{græca} \) in \( \text{græca} \) in \( \text{græca} \). That is, Nero used Otho, as his inward friend and companion because of his riot, and being often noted by him of praising and aggardedle he took it in very good part, and it is reported that on a time Nero, as he was anointing with a very costly ointment, having beprinkled Otho with a little thereof, the day following Otho entertaining him again for divers comers silver and golden pipes, spouting out the ointment like water and washing the place. Plutarchus Galba. In this case we must look here, he then in the same situation of things, is the more agreeable to sight of the \( \text{græca} \) or \( \text{græca} \) or \( \text{græca} \) or \( \text{græca} \). That is, there was one M. Salvius Otho so familiar with Nero both for likeness of their conditions, and fellowship in vices, that when once in speech with Nero he let fall a word: So you may see me Emperor as this, and this is a truth, he did him no harme, but only replied, No I will not so much as see thee a Consul. Xiphilinus Nerone.

3 Poppaea Sabin. Concerning the matter how it passt betweene Nero, Poppaea and Otho, read Suetonius Othone cap. 3, and Plutarch Galba differing from Tacitus in some little circumstances. But to this place of Tacitus.
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TACITUS most contrary, and without question irreconcilable is Tacitus himself in another 13. Annal.

4 Subpianc and Lutatian houfe. Plutarch (speaking of Galbae pedegree here) fayes faith he, Ludianus Taci( in Sepuentem. That is, he was defended of the most honorable of the Servi. And Tacitus lib. 2. Hist. plat. fayes, Claudius Verus, both somewhat strangely, as his forename for gentiles, to note the house which was Servian: which of which we may read more at large in Sueton. Galba, c. 2. But Galba, Gaius Plutarch, becometh under the name of Claudius. That is, glorified more in affinity with Catulus. Qui Latius Catulus, being his great-grandfather by the mother. That he was of kin to Livia Auguste, as Plutarch wrighteth, I have not else read, although it is true, that offerer at ante oriente Livia Augustum, etur & utra gratia pluvia pluvia, & mortem favelis post abitum eff. Suet. c. 1. But of kindred I find no word, neither do I greatly believe it. Only a stepmother he had named Livia Ocellinis, who adopted him, and therefore he was called Lucius Livius Ocellinurn after her name and sucept. em. imperial, if Suetonius in 'Galba' does not deceive us.

5 Name of a bloud: Propinquis aut (foem bellis) Augustus adopted Agrippa and Tibertis as fociis bellis, the rest as Propinquis. So Oho was to Galba fociis bellis, and Dolabella, who as Plutarch affiereth was also in speech about the adoption, Propinquis. Tac. Corneliu Delolbella propinquitae Galba munificatissimae, if it be, as I think, the same man, of whom Plutarch speketh.

6 Of one family) C. Julius adopted Augustus, Livia and Tibertis, who adopted Germanicus, whose Spotine Caius was, and Claudius his brother, and laflly Claudius adopted Nero in whom failed the Julian line, Antonius.

7 Shall ceafe &c. Difnam videre (suet.) ad 88. Definam contemani quafi fenes. Non legiones, non claffis prindipe, non imperii munimenta, quam quantumum liberum. Tac. 4. Hist. in the person of Titus. Literally to continue, it may seeme somewhat strange, that there should smart to ceafe aged, because he had adopted one that was one and thirty years old, as Pifo was, to whom in common intendment he might have been father, and so was reputed to all constru. T. Hist. 4. Tac. and purposes in law. But Adoption, as Generation, doeth in a forevem, and eternitie knoweth no apogeum.

8 That being of ancient time observe of cause to break up assemblie] Cie. in Parvim. Augustus nemes aliquod ab Romulo decenranter, fove fultents popule em popule effis. Philippica. 5. fove tenantem popule em popule effis es qua quin si fiqua nobis: de divisione. In nostris commendatiis scriptum babemus: fove fultentem fultentem comitie popule habere reiss. Anon after. Comumnium folum viam effis fulmen, quod idem omnibus robus effuitimum optimunm babemus, & faltuum viri

9 Where each man maketh choice of his fellow) This manner of musterling was, that the first man should chufe out the second, who in the bater should stand fast beside him, the second, the third, and so forth, each man tace till the laft man. An army so gathered was in the opinion of those ancient times thought in a manner invincible, and questionless it had very many singular commodities. Livii, b. Ad Peditimius latum hic reus, lege civitate, eque, disarmas, quas in varia, aequitas, quas in variis, aliquas aenpe finalis copia, final animi discrimantur. Much after the same manner. Zephier. 1. 4. describithe the Persian muster, either because it was fo indeed, or because in his judgement, being an excellent commander, so he became the belft. Cyren the General maketh choice of 300 trained Gentlemen such as he knew most fitt for the service. Each of those 300 chose four more Gentlemen: and so rising upon a thousand Gentlemen, every Gentleman maketh choice of thirty common fouldiers namely to targets. 10. flings, 16. cannon, and to bowers.

10 Their donative which they had used of durey to receive] The Princes liberalities to the fouldiers were called Donativa, to the people or otherwise to his friends, Congeria, double benefite because at the first certaine meares called consigui of wine or oyle were beflowed, and afterward other things were given, yet the ancient name remained. Tac. 2. Annal. Additum nomine Neronis donativum militi, congirium plici. And Sueton. 2. Neronis, of the felle same thing. 1 cap. 7. Declarius (Nero) in forum forum, populi, congirium, militi donativum propefuit. Which property of speech Tully, as it may beome, not regarding, electing congirium in head of donativa 16. ad Attic. ep. 8. An iter ad tres legiones Macedonicae, qua ejusmodi armas baud arms praebet. Quod si, in mea opinion, ad armae accepte confirmetur. Or rather, as I think, the word donativa, came in with the Empire not known in the free State. Donativa the Princes usually be...
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(ed, whether Piso also should go; they to carry the credit of the Senate, and be the countenance of the Prince, with more new and greater authority. It seemed convenient, that Laco captain of the Guard, should be sent withall; but his unwillingness brake the determination. The Embassadors likewise, the election of whom the Senate had given to Galba, were with shamefull inconstancy named, put out, others named in their place by labour and suite, to stay or to goe, as fear or hope moved them to doe.

VI. The donations of Nero revoked by Galba. Certain Tribunes put from their charge.

He next care was for money: and casting about for supply it seemed most reasonable to fetch it thence, from whence the lack had proceeded. Two and twenty hundred millions of sesterces Nero had wasted 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 remaining, having spent with like riot what came from others, as they had before consumed their own. Those greedy and wafteful companions had neither lands to extend, nor goods to be freed, save onely some furniture of vices. Thirty gentlemen of Rome were deputed collectours to gather the money; a strange kind of office, and burdenome, both for the number and fuit that was made. In every corner the spere was planted, and sales 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 given, as they were, from whom he had taken. About the same time certain Tribunes were called; Antonius Taurus, and Antonius Nafo of the guard, Aemilius Pancens of the city, and Julius Fronto of the watch: neither was it any remedy to amend the rest; but rather an occaſion of new feare in their minde, as though by cunning, and for fear certain were singled, whereas all were indeed mistrusted alike.

Two and twenty hundred millions: Biger vicies millie sertium; not novicer millies. Tacit. Hist. Naue sertium; not novicer millies; for so is the use of the tongue. Now in these speches pronounced adverbialey is underfoot of course centes millia, so that he e vices millia is as much as if he had said, he e vices millias centes millie sertium. Plutarchus Antonius interpreteth Decies by sexta or semidecim (Faucon.) That is, decies contentes milliae sertium: counting as he doth four sertii to a drachma. Sertius, quarter semia sertii, that is two and a halfe, and according to the same Analogie, in Greek sertius contains four talents and an halfe, and in Dutch dāithalbbatz, twobatz and an halfe. Now sertius signifying two and an halfe, as the vulgar nere also imported 11.S or joyed H.S, that is duo e semia, is meant always of so many sesterces; and therefore four sertii are precisely equivalent to a denarius, to called of dace era. Now all the Greek stories without exception writing df the Roman affaires, in head of quattor sertium or four sesterces, not only in small sumenes, but in huge great, where the difference muſt of cerce appear, if in their opinion there were any betweene them. Seeing then denarius and drachma, according to the context of the molt old writers, against a few, are of equall value, both containing four sesterces, eight drachmas making an ounce, and the ounce in our time esteemd of at five shillings being, our present summe of bis e vices millies centes millie sertium, reduced to English money now current, amouneth to seventene millions an hundred eighty thousand five hundred pound. Neither can this summe seeme strange for Nero in fourteen years, when Vitiolum praesens multius multum novus millius H.S. interregno credidit. About seven thousand thousand pound.

VII. The conspiracie of Otho: the death of Galba, Piso, Vinicius, Laco, and Icelus.

In the mean season sundry causes concurring incited Otho, whose hope and devices depended upon the common diſturbance, to trouble the state; riot and excess too costly even for the purfe of a Prince; barrenes and beggary for a meane man to bear; anger against Galba; envy toward Piso, and that his aspi-
of Cornelius Tacitus.

ring might seeme to be grounded upon greater reason, he fained also fears to himselfe: how that in respect of his greatness he had been a burden to Nero: that he was not againe to look for a new Lusitania, or some other place of honourable exile, but to be murthered, or made away by some means; that course Otho more justly expect, the rule being almost without instance. That alwayes he shall be suspected and hated of the Prince in possession, whom men do account worthy, or like to the Prince in succession, that point alone did him harne with old Galba, and would doe him more with young Piso, a man by nature not of the mildest, and made by long exile savagery and rough: and therefore he must of force doe and dare now or else never, whilst Galbaes authority was waining, and Pisoese as yet not fully well waxen: that changes were times moft apt for greatest attempts, and delays were dangerous, where soft quiet dealing draweth more evil, then hazarding rashly, that death happens by nature to all men alike, with only this difference of fame, or oblivion with posterity: and if he must die either guiltie or guilty, then were it more valiantly to die for defeat. Otho was not effeminat in minde as in body, and his freedmen and servants, the neete about him, being brought up in more licence then usually in a private mans house, layed before him, who greedily gaped after such bates, the court of Nero, and riuorous living, wives at will of his owne, and of other men, with such like pleasures of Princes, as his owne proper good, if he durst seize upon them; if not upbraiding them to him, as left unto others. The Astrologers also urged him forward, affurling by their star learning great changes at hand, and a yeere of advancement for Otho: a kind of people to Princes unfaithfull, to hapers deceitfull, that in our commonwealth shall be alwaies forbidden, and alwaies retained. Many of that profession were employed by Poppea in her secret affairs, the baddest instruments of which number Ptolomaeus, who followed Otho into Spain, promised he should overlive Nero: and so by the event having won credit, perfwaded him further, by conjecture alone, and speech of people comparing the yeeres of Galba and Otho, that he should be attuned to the Empire: but Otho embraced it as foretold by art, and by the forewarning of fate: as the humour is of most men to believe that foorne, which they least understand, or know what it meaneth. Neither was Ptolomaeus behind for his part, perfwading him now to the points in that kind of fact, which in a minde so desirous is soone apprehended. But whether it came in his minde on the sudden or no, to commit this foule act, that is not certainly known: certaine it is that long before that, he had by all meanes possible practised the favour and good will of the fouldier, either upon the hope of succession, or as preparing the way to his treason: in journeying, in marching, in warding, calling by name such as were of greatest continuance, and tearming them mates, upon the remembrance of living together in Neroes traine; with some renewing acquainctance, some calling for, and relieving their needs with his purse, and his countenance; insincting withall now and then complaints, and glauencing at Galba with speeches of doubtfull conformation, or what other way he could thenhine him, to stirrup, and alter the vulgar fort. The travells in journeying, the strainesse of provission, the hard hand held over them were much mislik to the fouldiers: for whereas before they were wont to visit the lakes of Campania, and towns of Achaia at their ease upon shipboard, now it seemed fore to trot all a foot over the Pyrenees and Alpes, and huge long voyages at small eafe in their armor. The fouldiers minds being thus already incensed, Mevius Pudens an acquainctance of Tigellinus, ministrd matter to inflame them further, who alluring some untailed heads, or such as were needly of money, and desperate
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desperate upon new desires, by little and little proceeded so far, that so oft as Galba
was feafted at Otho's, under pretence of a banquet benevolence, he distributed to
each man of the cohort which waited, an hundred sesterces. Which, as being a
publick largeness, Otho strengthened with secret rewards to particular persons:
so confident a corrupter, that whereas Coccius Proculus a "billman of the Guard
had a suite with his neighbour about a small parcel of ground, which lay doubl-
full between them, Otho with his owne money bought the neighbours whole
ground, and freely bestowed it upon him: such was the insufficiency of Laco the
Captain, grossely to oversee not onlye close practices, but even those dealings,
which all the whole world espied beside. But at that time Otho appointed Onoma-
itus one of his freedmen for master workman to contrive the treason, who bring-
ing Barbius Procclus the watch-word-carrier of the billmen, and Veturius a Centu-
rious Lieutenant anon to his master, after that Otho by sundry speeches, and much
private conference, perceived them to be craftie, and bold, fit for his purpose,
he lades them with rewards in hand, but much more with promises to come, gi-
ving them money to afay the minde of moe of their fellows: and to two com-
mon fouldiers tooke upon them to transferre the Empire of the people of Rome,
and accordingly performed it indeed. Few were by them made privy to the prin-
cipal purpoe, and they by divers devises incited the hovering minde of the ref,

drawing into the association the chiefe of the fouldiers preferred by Nymphidius,
as being supect to the present estate; the meaner fort, and the ref, by means of
the anger and displeasure conceived upon defpaire of their donative so often differ-
red: some also there were, whom the memory of Nero, and desire of former licence
did move: in generall, all were afraid they should finde a change in the service.
This contagion infected also the Legions and Aides, whose faith was weakened
already, when as they heard their fellows of Germany had left their allegiance.
And so were the bad to rebell, yet the good to dissemble, that as upon the four-
teneth of January, they had determinate, as Otho returned from supper to have
taken him up by the way, they not feared such casuall chances, as night might
have bred; and by reason the fouldiers were lodged scatteringly throughout the
whole towne; and that drunken men would a great deale more hardly agree; not
for any care of Commonwealth, which they purposed, when they were sober, to pol-
lute with the blood of their Prince; but left in the darke by error it might chance,
that in stead of Otho, some other man should be offered to the Pannonian and
German fouldiers, & fo be accepted for Emperor, the most part of them not know-
ing Otho by sight. Many signes of treason even now as it were discovering it selfe,
were suppressed by the conspirators: some other in Galbaes hearing Laco the cap-
taine put away with a jeft; a man little seene in fouldiers affections, and of any ad-
vice, were it never so excellent, whereof himselfe was no actour, an enemy, and
against the skilfull obstinately contentious. The fiftenth of January as Galba was
sacrificing before Apolloes temple, Umbricius the Priest, by view of unprospers
entrailes, forebiong dangers at hand, and a home enemy in Otho's audience
(for he was the next man) who contrarily construed it as good lucke on his side, and
happy success in his affaires. Anon after, Onomatus bringeth in word, that the
master carpenter, and those which had undertaken the worke at a price, stayed for
his coming: for that was the watch-word agreed between them, to signifie, that
now the fouldiers were drawing together, and the conspiracy ripe. Otho faining
an anlwer to such as demanded the cause of his departure, that he had certaine
old tenements to buy, which he suspected were ruinous, and therefore would have
them
of Cornelius Tacitus.

them viewed before,* following his servants direction, went through Tiberius' house into the Velabrum, and thence to the golden Milliarium under the Temple of Saturnus. There three and twenty "Bilmen attending his coming salute him Eum - επισκόποι τοιν ουρανεοι, and as he stood amazed, trembling for fear at their fewness, they snatch him up hastily into a chaire, and with their swords drawn carry him away. As they went forward toward the Camp, about so many more soldiers joyed themselves, some acquainted indeed with the cause, but most for the wonder and strangeness: part with howls, and drawn swords, part holding their peace, meaning to proceed, as the event should direct them. Julius Martialis warded as Tribune that day in the Campe: who being either terrified with the greatness of so sudden a treason, or else fearing the Camp was further corrupted, and death, if he should make show of resistance, gave most men to misdeem by his dealing, that he was somewhat of connell with the case. The rest likewise of the Tribunes and Centurions preferred present security before duty with danger: and generally after that manner were their minds and affections inclined, that into so horrible a treason few only durst enter, more wished it so, and all were contented to suffer it to passe. Galba in the meantime while ignorant of all which had passe, was busily occupied about his devotion, importuning now the Gods of another mans Empire, when as suddenly word was brought, that a Senator, they wist not well who, was carried to the Camp, and straightwayes that it was Otho. Anon flocked thither out of all quarters,* as they happened to meet them, some making the seare more then it was, some lesse, not forgetting even then to fall to their flattering bace. The matter being consulted, it was thought convenient, to sound the mind of the Cohort, which wareed in the Palace, not by Galba himself, whose authority was to be refered intire for greater exploits, but by Piso: who calling them before the staires of the house, used this speech. It is now, fellow-souldiers, six daies, since that I was, not knowing what after might befall, and whether this name were to be wished, or feared, adopted Caesar: with what successe to our house, or to the Common-wealth, that lies in your hands: not that I am for mine own particular, afraid of any heavy chance that can happen: foward fortune I have proved with the most; and the good I do take to bring no leffe danger: but my fathers case, the Senate, and the whole Empires lament, if this day of force we must either kill or be killed, a hard choice for any good man. In the last troubles these comforts we had: the City was kept clean without any blood-shed, the Star passe over without any discord; order was taken as it seemed, sufficient, by declaring a successour, that hereafter although so there should be no new occasion of war, I will not extoll and magnifie here mine ancient house, or modest behaviour: neither in the comparison with Otho, need we to reckon up vertues: his vices wherein he alone triumphs, have ruined the State even then, when he was but a friend of the Emperours. By his gesser and gate should he deserve to be Prince, or by that womanish attire he weareth? they are fouly deceived, whom riot deceives with show of liberality: to cast away and consume well may he be learned; to give in good order he hath not the skill: boldly pleasure & banquetting, wanton dalliance with women, these be the points which now he propeth himself, these he accounteth the prerogatives of Princes, whereof the lust and pleasure shall be only his own, the shame and ignominious redoundeth to all: for never any man yet used the Empire well, which he got by ill means. The content of the world made Galba Emperor, & Galba by your consent made me. If the weal publick, the Senat, the people, be frivolous names, and no substance, yet for your own interest provide, fellow souldiers, that the rascallest
fort be no Emperour makers. The Legions abroad have some time mutined a-
against their Generals, that had been heard of: your truth and good name hath re-
mained as yet to this day untouched: and Nero also forsook you, not you Nero.
Shall ye suffer thirty renegates and traitors, whom none would permit to choose
their Centurion, or Tribune dispoſe of the Empire? do you allow the example? do
you wink at their crime, and to make it your own? the provinces will ulurp the like
licence, & the end of these treafons will fall to our share, the end of those wars un-
to yours. Neither is there more gotten by murdering your Prince, then by keep-
ing your hands innocent and clean: as well shall you receive of us a donative for
truth, as of others for treafon. The "bilmen being slipped away, the reft of the co-
horts seeming to be moved with his words, more of fear, as it happeneth in tumults,
and yet with some reafon, make ready their enſignes, w.th afterward men supposed
was done for a colour and fraud. Marius Cefius alfo was sent to the selected fouldiers
of the Illyrian army encamped in Vipanius cloifter: and commandment was given
to Amulius Serenus, and Domitius Sabinus, which had been leaders of the prin-
cipall enſigne, to fetch forth the fouldiers out of the court of Liberty. The Legion
of Mariners Galba diſtruſted, as being incenſed againſt him for the flaughter of
their fellows at his first entry. Cenarius Severus, Subrius Dexter, and Pompeius Lon-
ginus Tribunes were sent to the Prætorian camp, to try whether the feditious might
now at the beginning, and before it were grown to a ripes, by better advise be af-
waged. Subrius and Cenarius with threats, and menacing were put by the fouldiers to
ſilence: upon Longinus they lay violent hands, and difarm him, because he had come
to that place not by order of service, but by extraordinary favour of Galba: a man
faithfull to his prince, and therefore of rebels worse liked. The Legion of mariners
without any ſlay joyned themselves to them of the guard: the selected of the Illyri-
an army, with ſturts bent upon him, drive Cefius away: the German enſignes were
long in ſupence, being as yet ſeable in body, but in minde well affected, for that be-
ing fent by Nero before to Alexandria, at their return tired and fick withſo long a
cut, they were by Galba carefully ſerplied. Now was all the common people and
bondmen withal assembled 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
pieces, and thofe other traitors exiled not upon ſupremer judgement or any true mean-
ings for the ſelf same day with as vehement inſtance they would be as ready to demand
the other way: but onely upon a received cuſtome to flatter the Prince whatsoever
he be, framing acclamations at pleſure, and vainly indeavouring to shew their good
wills. In the mean ſeaſon Galba was distracted with two divers opinions. Titus Vin-
ius thought best to ſtay within doores, to oppofe the bondmen againſt them to fortifi-
c the paſſages, and not to go forth to men in their fury: that he ſhould give a ſpace
for the bad to repent, for the good to conſtent: that treasons prevaile on the sudden,
good counſels gather forces by leisure: and laſtly if he would, or reaſon required it,
than might he wel go, as now, to anſw. but to come in again, if he chanced to repent
him, were like to lie in the will of another. The reft were all of a contrary minde:
that it was the much better way, to cut off delays with all poſſible speed, before the
conspiracy of few, as yet without force, took further increafe: that even Otho him-
selſ would trembling for fear, who being conveyed privately away, and brought in among
thofe which knew not the matter, through lothfull delaying, and trifling the time,
learns now at his leisure to counterfaft the Prince. What? would they except till O-
tho having compos'd the camp, and fet all in order, should invade the place of pub-
liek amſembly, and as Galba peeped out of a hole, under his noſe enter the Capitoll,
while be like a goodly trim Captain, with his courageous friends, so they may be in covert, kept close within doores and that up the gates, meaning belike to attend the siege there: much help might one hope for at bondmens hands, if the agreement of so great a multitude, and their first indignation which is always the hottest, were suffered to cool: that therefore the party dishonorable was also more dangerous: or if needs they must die, then better to meet and encounter the danger: that would at least breed Otho more envy, & were wchall most for their honour. As Vinius replied against the opinion, Laco, at the instigation of Icelus, persisting in private displeasures to the overthrow of the publick estate, beginneth to charge him with menacing and threats: and Galba without any longer delay gave himself wholly to follow their counsel, which had the fairer shew in appearance. Yet first was Piso sent to the Campe, as being a young man of great name and gracious, freth in mens favour, and enemy to Vinius, either because he was so, or that Vinius ill-willers did with it to be so; and it is thought rather he was so indeed. Piso was cant gone abroad, when first a flying rumour without Author was spread, that Otho was slain in the Camp: anon, as in great lies it falls out, some affirmed they were present, and saw it; a report which men partly rejoicing and partly not curious, easily believed. Many supposed this rumour was framed, and increased by some of Othoes men, being now huddled in with the rest, and giving out untrue good newes of purpose to allure Galba out of his hold. But upon the report however, not onely the people and simpler fort clap hands, and declare immoderately their affections, but most of the Gentlemen, and Senators without temporizing, as being now freed of fear, break open the gates, rush into the Palace, press forward to Galba, protesting how sorry they were, the revenge of his quarrel was thus prevented by others, the greatest owards, and such as in danger dared the least, as triall made proofe, being most excessive in words, and hardy of tongue. Thus whilest all affirmed, and no body knew, Galba yeelding to an untruth so generally footed, sputs on * a brest plate, and being not able for body nor age to sustaine the press which came in upon him, was lifted up in a Chaire. In the palace Julius Atticus met him, one of the "Bilmen," holding out a bloody sword in his hand, with which he cried aloud he had slain Otho. My friend, quoth Galba, who bade thee? a man of rare vertue to keep in awe. * Attilius reporsth the people and do his sacrifice to the gods for his deliverance, as making no doubt but that Otho was dead. * As the reading, * ga. * in his speech: * but in the end he found himself bidon to another banquete. * Romanes, Sedan, Bitterm. Lucianem. * Or a privy coat. * Spiculaters. * Medium inter cornes, & medius inter medios, sed ecce manus. * Heraclea celeberrima. * In pectore. * E. d. h. c. x X. x. x.* Purposing openly, as Plutarch reporteth to show humble abroad to the people and do his sacrifice to the gods for his deliverance, as making no doubt but that Otho was dead. * As the reading, * ga. * in his speech: * but in the end he found himself bidon to another banquete. * Romanes, Sedan, Bitterm. Lucianem. * Or a privy coat. * Spiculaters. * Medium inter cornes, & medius inter medios, sed ecce manus. * Heraclea celeberrima. * In pectore. * E. d. h. c. x X. x.* By this time the fouldiers were wholly agreed, with so great fervencie favouring Otho, that not content to assist him in companies with their bodies, they cast a ring about him with banners, as he stood in the middeft of the enigne in the Tribunall, in which a little before the image of Galba was planted in gold, not suffering the Tribunes or Centurions to approch, yea and further the common fouldier bidding beware of Officers. All the whole Camp refounding with clamours, with tumult, with mutual encouragement: none of those different chantings of dull flat-tery practised among the popular: but as they espied any fouldier coming, they would take him by the hand, embrace him in their armour, set his fait by them, begin him the oath, recommending sometime their Emperour to the fouldiers, and sometimes the fouldiers to their Emperour. Neither was Otho slack for his part to stretch forth his hands, to bow himselfe to every meaner person, * to throw kisses abroad, and what servile crowching else not fit for an Empire! When the whole Legion of Mariners had sworn allegiance, trusting now to his strength, and suppo-
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 possessest the place: your name also, whether traitors or true subjects, shall be likewise in doubt, till it be decided what manner of man you have in your camp, an Emperor of the people of Rome, or an enemy. Do you not hear how my death, and your punishment are both required at once? so evident it is, that we can neither perish, nor be safe, but joyntly together: and perhaps Galba, according to the measure of his discretion, hath promised it already, as one that could finde in his heart, unaskd, unrequired, to murder so many thousands of most innocent citizens. A horror pierceth my heart as oft as I call to remembrance the dismall entry, and that only of his, when he did in sight of the City command to be slain the tenth person of those, which upon their humble request he had received into his protection. Such was his unprosprous entry: and what glorious fact brought beside to commend him withall to the Princes place, saving the slaughter of Obultronius Sabinus and Cornelius Marcellus in Spain, of Betisius Chilo in France, of Fronteius Capito in Germany, of Clodius Macer in Africk, of Cingonius in the way, Turpilianus in the City, Nymphidius in the camp? Nay, what Province is there, what camp 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 hainious faults, he termes them gentle remedies: cruelty he clokes with the name of severity, and wretched covouynesse he termes provident and sparing: your stripes and indignities ancient discipline. Since the death of Nero it is scarce seven moneths, and yet hath one Icelus already raked more together, then all that rable, Polycletus, Vatinius, Elias, and their fellowes have done in so many yeares. And certainly with leffe covouynesse, and more respect would Titus Vinius have raged if himself he had been Emperor: now he oppreßeth us as vassals, and holdeth us vile as strangers: the only wealth of that man were enough for the donative, which daily is cast in your teeth, but never paid to your purses. And left we might hope to better our estate, at the least when Galba were gone, he hath fetched out of exile one, that in cruelty and covouynesse he judgeth likest himself. You saw fellow-souldiers, by that notable storm, that even the gods much abhorred that untoward adoption. The Senat, the people are of the same minde: your part now only remaineth: your valour and vertue is looked for: you are the men who add strenght to good causes: without you, be the attempt never so worthy, it shall never take any worthy effect. I desire you not to a war, I call you not to any dangerous exploit: the souldiers be all of our side, and that one unarmed cohort, which waits upon Galba, endeavors not now to defend him against us, but rather detaines him from escaping out from us: when you shall come in their view, when they shall fee my ensigne this will be their only contention, who shall in my behalf do greatest service. No delay in that enterprise is to be uſed, which never is commended, before it be ended. Then he commanded ed the Armory to be opened: armes by and by were taken contrary to custome, and order of service, where the Praetorian and Legionary man is fevered by his different cognizance: with Helmets and Targets they mingle themselves, among the Aid souldiers: no Centurion nor Tribune encouraging them, they become Captain and encourager, each man to himselfe; and that which chiefly encouraged the good, the good were discouraged, and quite out of heart. Now Piso being scared away with the noise, as the feditjon grew fuller and hotter, with shows refounding even into the City, by this time had joined himſelfe to Galba again, who was
was in the mean season issued out of the Palace, and come near to the place of publick assembly. Marius Celsus likewise had brought an heavy answer againe: whereupon some thought it expedient to retire into the Palace againe, some rather to possess themselves of the Capitoll, some other to take the Rostrum: but the most did only impugne the opinions of others, and as often it chanceh in Counsels crost
ched with evil success, that way was commonly judged the best, whereof the time was forepassed. It is reported that Laco, unwitting to Calba, had a meaning to have slain Titus Vinius, hoping like by his death to mitigate the troubles, or mistrusting he was confederate with Otho, or els upon private displeasure: the time and the place bred scriple in the matter: for when men are set in a killing, it is not so easy to stop when you lift; and many other accidents stated the purpose, fearfull messages, the flippings away of his friends, their courage being all quailed, and of those which cheerfully at first made most ostentation of loyalty and stouteffe.

C 3

Galba was driven to and fro with the crowd of the company, as it waved up and down. The standing in * Temples and Churches on every side were taken to view this * sorrowful sight: the people all mute, with countenances amazed, and listening ears, no tumult, no quietness: such a silence as argued great feare, and great anger: notwithstanding it was carried to Otho, that the common people were a putting in armes: whereupon he commanded his men to march in all speed and prevent the danger. So the Roman soldiery, as if they had gone to pull Vologeses or Pacorus out of the throne anciently possessed by Arses line, and not to murder their own Emperor unarmed, and aged, dispersing the people, trampling the Senate under foot, * set spurre to their horses, and fiercely in armes rush into the Place of assembly: neither did the sight 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 successor is the reve lever. The en-signe bearer of Galbaes cohort, Atius Vergilio by report, as soon as he saw afarre off the armed men, marching in array, pluckt down the image of Galba, and daubed it against the pavement, by that it did plainly appeare, that all the soldiers were wholly for Otho. The people unbidden make away in all haste, leaving the place of assembly void, or if any seemed to linger, they were drawn upon by the soldiery. At Lucus Curtius Galba was tumbled out of his chariour to the ground, through the fearfulneffe of them which bare it. His last words are diversely by divers reported, as they admired or hated the man: some say, he humbly demanded what ill he had ever deserved, requesting onely a few dayes respite to pay their donative. The most do agree; that he offered stoutly his neck, to doe their pleasure, and strike, if it seemed good to the Common-wealth: it mattered not much to the murderers what he did say. The very man that slew him is not certainly known: some say Terentius Evocatus; others Lecanius: the more received opinion is, that Camarius, a soldiery of the fiftteenth Legion, pierced his throat with a sword: his armes and legges (f for his breast was armed) others did misterably mangle and hew: many stabbes, upon a savage and beastly cruelty, were belowe_ed upon the headlesse carcasse. Next after Galba, they assayed Vinius, of whom likewise there is question, whether the present feare wafted his speech, or else that he cried aloud. They had no commandment from Otho to kill him: which, whether he sained for feare, or confessed as associate of the conspiracy, the fame of his lewd life doth make it more probable he was guilty of the treason, whereof he was a cause. At the first wound in his hamme he tumbled down before the Temple of Divus Julius, and after by Julius Carus, a Legionary soldiery, was thruft through the
The first Book of the History

24

Both Prius and
Xiphilin write
that not Pifo,
but Galba was
proceeded by
Cen-

Theft of the Histo-
ry.

... of the Cohort wth guarded Galba, and by him appointed to wait upon Pifo, who with his rapier drawn encountering the armed men, and upbraiding to them their disloyalty, partly by deeds, and partly by words turning the blowses upon his

... their head, gave Pifo, although he were wounded, time and space to escape away. Pifo recovering the Temple of Vesta, and being received by the Sextons compati-

... on, and hid in his Cabin, not by the reverence of Sanctuary, or sacred ceremonies of the holy goddesse, but onely by hiding himselfe, deferred eminent death, when as straight there comes thither, by Othoes expresse commandement, hotly bent by

... name for his blood, Sulpitius Florus, one of the Britifh cohorts, lately by Galba made Citizen of Rome, and Statius Marcus "Bilman: of these two was Pifo 

... drawn out and slain in the gates of the Temple. No mans death did Otho so joy-

... fully take; no head did he view and review so infaatibly: whether it was that then first of all his mind was at ease, and free to rejoice, lightened of all manner burdens and care; or that the remembrance of majesty in Galba, of acquaintance in Vinius, had frook a kinde of horror unto his unmercifull minde: marry for Pifo, his enemy

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... drawn out and slain in the gates of the Temple. No mans death did Otho so joy-

... fully take; no head did he view and review so infaatibly: whether it was that then first of all his mind was at ease, and free to rejoice, lightened of all manner burdens and care; or that the remembrance of majesty in Galba, of acquaintance in Vinius, had frook a kinde of horror unto his unmercifull minde: marry for Pifo, his enemy
vile ministers redeeming their cause. Further the soldier which had any wealth was sure to be tired with travel and stripes till he bought out his immunity; and when the poor wretch had consumed his substance, and wafted his body with loath, he returned to his band unlusty, and beggery, whereas he was active and wealthy before: and so likewise another and another corrupted with like licence, and brought to like beggary, were carried to mutinies, diffentions, and civil wars in the end. But Otho left by gratifying the soldier he should alien the Centurions minds, promised to pay out of his own the Coffers yearly vacations; a thing no doubt very profitable, and by good Princes succeeding established for a perpetual order. Laco confined in shew into an Island, was murdered by Evocatus, whom Otho had sent before for the purpose. Upon Martianus Icelus, as being a freedman, open execution was done. The day being thus consumed in mischiefes, the last of all was the rejoicing. The City-Pretor calleth the Senat to counsell: the rest of the Magistrates contend to exceed in flattery: the Lords of the Senate run thither in haste: to Otho is awarded Tribunitiall authority, and the name of Augustus, with all other princely prerogatives, and titles, each man devouing to abolish the opprobrious speeches, and reviling tearmes which they had indifferently used against him, which nevertheless he seemed not much to remember, whether his purpose to pardon the offences, or whereas he execrable against the State; for the short time he ruled, could not be seen. Otho the place of the assembly being yet imbured with blood, was carried through the dead bodies, as they lay slain, first to the Capitol, and thence to the Palace, giving permission to bury, and burn the carcases. Piso was by his wife Verania, and Scribonianus his brother; Titus Vinius by his daughter Cripina, composed and lay'd in grave; having first fought out and redeemed their heads, which the murderers had kept to be sold. Piso was when he died one and thirty years old, of better fame then fortune: his brother Magnus was slain by Claudius, and Craflus by Nero: himselfe lived a great while in exile; and fours dayes a Prince, adopted in haste before his eldest brother, with this only advantage, that he was thereby first made away. Titus Vinius lived forty seven yeares, not all after one fort: his father was of a Praetorian house; his mothers father one of the proscriptors. At his first service in war he became infamous: his Lieutenant generall Caluflus, Sabinus wife, carried with a womanly desire to view the site of the Campe; and having in fouldiers attire wantonly perused the watch, and other campe offices, in the very Principia forfeited her honour, and the man accused of the fact was Titus Vinius: whereupon by commandement of Caius the Emperor he was imprisoned, and anon through change of times being enlarged he pass'd through offices of honour without touch; first Praetor, then Lieutenant of a Legion with good commendation: afterward he staid himself with a servile crime, conveighing away a golden cup from Claudius boord; whereupon the day following Claudius made him alone of all his guests to be serv'd in earthen: notwithstanding being Proconfull of Gallia Narbonenis he governed the countrie with great severity and censure; and anon by reason of credit with Galba being drawn to the place of dangerous down-fall, he was bold, crafty, active, and as he lifted to bend his minde, mischievous or industrious in equal degree. The testament of Titus Vinius his wealth made void: Piso's, his poverty ratified. Galbaes body long neglected, and in the dark despitefully increas'd, Argius his Steward, one of his principall bondmen, buried with small ceremony in his private Gardens. His head, by the followers and rascall of the Campe, mangled and stabbed, was found the day after before Patrobius trombe,
A Freed man of Nero, whom Galba had executed, and so was put with his body burned before. This end had Servilius Galba, having lived "seventy three years, and out-lived five Princes in great prosperity; happier under the Empire of others then in his own: his house of ancient nobility, and great wealth: himselfe a man of a middle disposition, rather violece, then greatly vertuous; neither neglecting his fame, nor yet ambitiously careful of it: of other mens money not greedy, sparing of his own, of the common a nigdrag: bearing with his favours and freed men, without reprochension, when they were good, if they were bad, to his own shame: ignorant of all their ill doings: but his honorable birth, and the dangerous times covered the matter, entitulung that wildeome, which in truth was but sloth: in his flourishing age greatly renowned for service in *Germany: Africk he ruled as Proconsull with great moderation: and growing in yeares, the nearer Spanje upwright and well: feeming more then a private man, while left he was private, and by all mens opinions capable of the Empire, had he never been Emperour.

1 The Astrologers also: (Mathematici) This use of the word Mathematicum pro Apotrophein is utterly unknown to the ancient Græcians, and to the Romans also, for ought I remember, till the Emperours time. Before they were called Chaldeones ex aetate, fed ex genio vox ubi vocare, faith Tully: then Mathematici (a name undue to their occupation) or Planetarii and *Chaldeos also in our time Astrologers, a word of the ancetnt both Greek and Latin applied to that part of the Mathematical fencer, both now, and then also known by the name of Almanac. In Augustus time, *Ptolemaeus did镭a fphere of the *Chaldeos in the *Empyrean. That is, Agrippa banished Astrologers (for in Dio time they began to call) and Magicians out of the City. Dio lib. 49. In Tiberius time, *Ptolemaeus did, Mathematici, magiuent Italian pelagia and stellennus, a quartum omandum. *Ptolemaeus did, Mathematici, *Astronomus *Chaldeos, extra portam Pythagoram, cum cæstitiones cæstiones perpetuae, more præteritorum. Tac. 2. An. In Claudius time, *De Mathematicis Italia pelagia fæcullum (senatusconsultum axox & privatum. And in Vitellius time *publi. Italia Mathematici, *Epiplotarum lib. 7. de officio Proconsulis. Preterea interdicta *Mathematicarum callidam impotentes: neque boium principum, nec magnum bonum publicum, nec anmoner, *Ptolemaeus de Mathematicis, virtute et scientia, omnibus *Emperorum homines publicos, *Ptolemaeus. And in Tiberius time, mathematici callidam impotentes: neque boium principum, nec magnum bonum publicum, nec anmoner, *Ptolemaeus de Mathematicis, virtute et scientia, omnibus *Emperorum homines publicos, *Ptolemaeus. And in Vitellius time *publi. Italia Mathematici, *Epiplotarum lib. 7. de officio Proconsulis. Preterea interdicta *Mathematicarum callidam impotentes: neque boium principum, nec magnum bonum publicum, nec anmoner, *Ptolemaeus de Mathematicis, virtute et scientia, omnibus *Emperorum homines publicos, *Ptolemaeus. And in Vitellius time *publi. Italia Mathematici, *Epiplotarum lib. 7. de officio Proconsulis. Preterea interdicta *Mathematicarum callidam impotentes: neque boium principum, nec magnum bonum publicum, nec anmoner, *Ptolemaeus de Mathematicis, virtute et scientia, omnibus *Emperorum homines publicos, *Ptolemaeus.
of Cornelius Tacitus.

Soldiers: those whom Otho had here to talk with were the Legionsaries of Spain as they pulled the mountains, who surely could not in possibility accompany Nero into Achaea. Hill. in the oration of Voluta: Nov adus tur- batum crucivulam armis rem Romanam, ut Treveritis & Lirinibus, felibus ita. Aetius Dicta felicis, Divique Angulu- tur curam animo Gaiam, & infidii tribus, bellum spiritus vortis, None hostis, quia divitiam, cum jubiles, causae, roman- sion, animo, and yet it is plain by Tacitus himself, and all other histories of that time, Treveri and Lin- gones, were of all the French there men with Galba atrocius, aut danno foium pecuniae, relieving the rie of their tribute, and making them Citizens. Vulgatus Gallicanus in the life of Avidus Galbinius brought in Ma- Antonius the Philosopher profoundly disputing the causes of the fall of certain Emperors, among other of Perti- nax.

1. Signamur ete decuriae omnes principes quos occisi, etem babi, cauix causam metuentem octavum, nec quemquam facile conuenit. 2. M. Aureius vel villam a syno, vel occidium, decern meruisset Neronem, debellati Caligulam, Gaiam, & Vitellium non imperare confluit. Num de Pertinace & Galba qui figurae, cum statueris, in imperatore avaricius. 3. Sestus Simonius, whereas Pertinax was living thirteen years after Antoninus was dead, succeeding in the to Commodus his sonne. Appianus places in the Roman battle Domitian in deserto conu, Lucius Scipio in the middle battel, and Eumenes in Locris: and of the enemies Antonicus in dero, Philippus in the middle, and Seleucus in luce, in joyning like a good and skilfull Captain matching the cartoons, opposeth the left to the left (a thing not possible in nature) Eumenes to Seleucus and his people, which indeed was true, as it appeareth by Livy, but Appianus ordering of the battell.

That is, Domitian commanded the right wing, in the middle battell was the Consul himselfe, the left wing was given to Eumenes: Of the enemies, Pseudanum quoce Aris Sestus Simonius, whereas Pseudeus in the joyning, in the joyning, Eumenes faith he, &c. in specto. 5. Eumenes faith he, "Hic es core," whereas in whom he charged with his horsemen against the Galatians and Cappadocians which were over against them, and left we in the joyning, he concluded with the worse words, &c. Whereas if we do.

That is, and those things were done on the left hand of the Macedonian battel. The like error is in Dionythus lib. 6. &c. Whereas if we do.

That is, and the things were done on the left hand of the Macedonian battel. The like error is in Dionythus lib. 6. &c.

That is, moreover having measured out the whole way by miles (a mile being five thousand two hundred feet,) he erected pillars of stone as marks of the measure, whereupon grew the usual phrase of terius, quartus, quintus, seu urbi lapidem, for three, four, or five miles from the City.

4. Not upon judgement, or any Tacit. 3. Hist. Populi militium omnium, &c. In Tacitus phrasem here we have credulato significat, paasively, whereas are rudi in common

Dionythus notech in Thucydes among many other innovations in speech, that he commonly changed adjectives into passives, and passives into adjectives: non utarae sed erat... et... erant

Tacitus here we have credulae sine falsaque, passively, whereas clandestinum in common Latin.

5. Framing acclamations at pleasure] The formula of acclamations in Senate is to be seen in the latter Roman Stories, in favour, as in Limpiades, to Alexander Severus. Auctor innocens, quasi aecratore, &c. In Vulcatus Gallica- nus to Antoninus, Antonius sine deis per seuerat, Antonius cum deis dixt a seuerate, &c. To Divus Claudius, in Trebellius Ptolio, Augusti Claudis, nec nos praebet pretiis (clamibus exagitis) Claudis Augusti, &c. In Flavius Sallustius, Tacitus the Em-peror, Tact. Augusti dixit foras, vehementer, &c. In divo Statius, in Lepidus after Commodus death, Holis patriae honores detectabatur, partes litterum, &c. Of popular acclamation we may gueze they were much disputing after this forme.

6. Easily beleaved: credu'sa'] Dionythus notech in Thucydes among many other innovations in speech, that he commonly changed adjectives into passives, and passives into adjectives: in servos ut uiginti insignes, &c. In Tacitus here we have credulae sine falsaque, passively, whereas clandestinum in common Latin, and so it is used in this book, signifying only as faciecredere, likewise, We say to berginone catechismum anima- 00000000. 1. The formula of acclamations in Senate is to be seen in the latter Roman Stories, in favour, as in Limpiades, to Alexander Severus. Auctor innocens, quasi aecratore, &c. In Vulcatus Gallica- nus to Antoninus, Antonius sine deis per seuerat, Antonius cum deis dixt a seuerate, &c. To Divus Claudius, in Trebellius Ptolio, Augusti Claudis, nec nos praebet pretiis (clamibus exagitis) Claudis Augusti, &c. In Flavius Sallustius, Tacitus the Em- emperor, Tact. Augusti dixit foras, vehementer, &c. In divo Statius, in Lepidus after Commodus death, Holis patriae honores detectabatur, partes litterum, &c. Of popular acclamation we may gueze they were much disputing after this forme.

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[Text content not visible in the image]
of Cornelius Tacitus.

The principal titles usually annexed to the Princes place were, 1. $\text{Cæsar}$. 2. $\text{Imperator}$. 3. $\text{Augustus}$. 4. $\text{Tribunatu pretialiis}$. 5. $\text{Pater patriae}$. 6. $\text{Pompeius Magnus}$. Tac. 1. An. 

\begin{itemize}
\item Augustus, a prince, called $\text{Cæsar Augustus}$, in the former state, 2. $\text{Imperator}$; with a double form of power both touched by Dion, lib. 39. $\text{Cæsari et Augusto imperio accepit}$, which title of $\text{Præsidentus}$, as I think, was borrowed from $\text{præsidentibus}$ in the former state. 3. $\text{Imperator}$; with a double form of power, both touched by Dion, lib. 39. $\text{Cæsari et Augusto imperio accepit}$, which title of $\text{Præsidentus}$, as I think, was borrowed from $\text{præsidentibus}$ in the former state. 4. $\text{Imperator}$; with a double form of power, both touched by Dion, lib. 39. $\text{Cæsari et Augusto imperio accepit}$, which title of $\text{Præsidentus}$, as I think, was borrowed from $\text{præsidentibus}$ in the former state. 5. $\text{Imperator}$; with a double form of power, both touched by Dion, lib. 39. $\text{Cæsari et Augusto imperio accepit}$, which title of $\text{Præsidentus}$, as I think, was borrowed from $\text{præsidentibus}$ in the former state. 6. $\text{Pater patriae}$; the title of $\text{Præsidentus}$ in the former state. 7. $\text{Pompeius Magnus}$. Tac. 1. An.
\end{itemize}

That is, in that age Augustus took to himself the name of Emperor. I mean not that name which in ancient times was given to certain persons upon some notable victory, but this other signifying Sovereign power and majesty. And not only this latter which began first in Julius Caesar; n. c. 70. importing Sovereign majesty, but also the other was usual both under the Emperors, both in the Princes style, and conferred likewise upon private persons that had deserved it. Tac. 3. Anu. 

$\text{Pater patriae}$; the title of $\text{Præsidentus}$ in the former state. 2. $\text{Imperator}$; with a double form of power, both touched by Dion, lib. 39. $\text{Cæsari et Augusto imperio accepit}$, which title of $\text{Præsidentus}$, as I think, was borrowed from $\text{præsidentibus}$ in the former state. 3. $\text{Imperator}$; with a double form of power, both touched by Dion, lib. 39. $\text{Cæsari et Augusto imperio accepit}$, which title of $\text{Præsidentus}$, as I think, was borrowed from $\text{præsidentibus}$ in the former state. 4. $\text{Imperator}$; with a double form of power, both touched by Dion, lib. 39. $\text{Cæsari et Augusto imperio accepit}$, which title of $\text{Præsidentus}$, as I think, was borrowed from $\text{præsidentibus}$ in the former state. 5. $\text{Imperator}$; with a double form of power, both touched by Dion, lib. 39. $\text{Cæsari et Augusto imperio accepit}$, which title of $\text{Præsidentus}$, as I think, was borrowed from $\text{præsidentibus}$ in the former state. 6. $\text{Pater patriae}$; the title of $\text{Præsidentus}$ in the former state. 7. $\text{Pompeius Magnus}$. Tac. 1. Anu. 

According to Appian the Tribunitial privilège was conferred upon Augustus, and the other after Cæsar by the Senate A. V. C. 27. 

And in Dio a mong the honours decreed to Caesar by the Senate A. V. C. 27. 

But the titles were altogether abolished with great curiosity and care in the one and the other. 

As Tacitus observes in his praefatio, that the office of $\text{Pompeius Magnus}$ was a general charge in the free common wealth, united in the person of Caesar at what time he usurped the State, and for the most part continued in his successors of which we shall have occasion to speak more hereafter. Besides the titles of honour usually expressed in the Princes style, many other dignities conferred upon Augustus, and the full Emperors at several times, and upon occasion were all in one ordinary decree granted to the Prince at the first solemnity of the Senate after his coming to State, as (8) $\text{Imperium proconsulare}$. (9) just as of himselfe being not Consul, and that of being above all law, (10) $\text{legibus fient, &c.}$ Dio lib. 17. $\text{ex imperio in se, et Caesar Augustus regnabat}$, $\text{inter alia}$, and in Neronis, $\text{as socratibus, et impetrata)$, $\text{opus}$, $\text{et imperii con amore imperator}$. That is, and here the Emperors obtained another prerogative such as was never absolutely granted to any of the ancient Romans, that is, $\text{legibus fient}$, to be tied to no other laws, and to have power to give all sorts of laws, $\text{fecundum ex eis institutum$.}$

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The City thus terrified, and having in honour both the hainousnesse of the late fact, and the old conditions of Otho, was put in a further feare, by the news of Vitellius revolt, which were in Galbaes time suppressed, that men should beleive no more had rebelled, save the Army of upper Germany alone. But then seeing two of all mortall men the moſt detestable creatures, in slothfulness, incontinency, and waftfull life, fatally elec, as it were to ruin the Empire, not only the Senators and Gentlemen, who had some part and care of the State, but the Commons also openly began to waile and lament. Their talk was no more of the freſh and bleeding examples of the late murdering peace: but of civill wars recorded in ancient Story, of the City fo oft surprized by her own Citizens, Italy wafted, the Provinces spoiled: of Pharsalia, Philipus, Peruna, Mutina, famous names of common calamities. The world was suverted almost, even when good men frote for the State: notwithstanding there remained when Caius Julius, there remained when Cæsar Auguſtus was conqueror, the forme of an Empire.* If Pompey had prevailed, if Brutus, the popular State would have ftood: now whether for Otho, or for Vitellius should they go to the Temples that both prayers were impious. The one fide an ill minde in a man of nothing, of the other an ill minde joyned with courage and edge. If Pompey had prevailed, if Brutus, the popular State would have ftood: now whether for Otho, or for Vitellius should they go to the Temples that both prayers were impious. The one fide an ill minde in a man of nothing, of the other an ill minde joyned with courage and edge. But Pompey was not altogether without exception; the onely Prince before his time, which changeth to the better.
Now will I set downe the beginning and causes of Vitellius commotion. After that Julius Vindex with all his host slaine, the Army growing insolent with spoile and glory, as having obtained, without paine and danger, a molt rich conquest, loved much better exploits and fighting,* rewards and booties, then ordinary pay, they had paased before a long, fruitlesse, and hard service there, partly through the * qualitie of the soile, and climate, and partly through the traitesse of discipline, which in time of peace being rigorously observed, by civil war is utterly dissolved, corrupters being ready at hand on both sides, and fugitives escaping as then without punishment. Men, Armour, Horſes they had sufficient for use, and ornament too, but before the * war they had no further acquaintance together, but with the men of their owne Troupes, and Companies: the Armies lay severer in severall Provinces, then against Vindex the Legions being assembled in one, and having proved themselves and the forces of Gallia, sought now a fresh occasion of warres, and new troubles, not terming them as they were wont friends, and allies, but enemies and conquered persons. The tract of Gallia, which lies upon Rhene, having before followed theboldy fide, advanced themselves then with the formost to inftigate the armies against the Galbiens, forso they now called them, disdaining the name of Vindex as stale. Thus being incensed against the Sequani and Hedui, and so further, as the towns were in wealth, they conceived in hope flocking of Cities, wafting of Countries, rifing of Banks; irritated next after covetousneffe and preſumption, princippall vices of them which be stronger, by the perversenes of them of Gallia foolishly bragging, that Galba had releas'd a fourth part of their tribute, and * generally made them Citizens of Rome in defect of the Army. Moreover it was given out craftily, and rashly beleev'd, * that in the Legions every tenth man was allotted to die, & the ablest men of the Centurions shou'd be caſted: from every quarter hainous rumours, finifter reports from Rome, the Colony of Lions discontent'd, and as it were a nurcery of tales by reaſon of their constant affaite to Nero: but greater matter to forſue an ale lie, and win it credit the camp it self did yeeld upon hatred, fear, security alfo, when they had measured their owne abilitie. Aulus Vitellius entering the yeare before about the firft of December into lower Germany, with great care and diligence had visit'd and surveyed the standing camps of the Legions: many he reforted to their roomes, to their fame and honor, most part to win favor, and fome upon judgement, undoing that with integrity, which Fonteins Capito upon bribery and lucre had done displacing or placing for mony in degrees of service: neither were his doings accepted after the measure of an ordinary Lieutenant general, but in a far higher degree. And as among the fervcer fort Vitellius was thought base and demife, to his favourers termed it cour-

**Footnotes:**

*Premiæ as the reward for the service of a Citizen, or Country gentlemen, or any other extraordinary liberalities.
*ingenæ licæ (legal) s. Hift. Gallæ as laboriosæ (laborious, arduous).
*Against Vindex.
*And for remaіned, for ought I know, in the more against Vindex, where only the upper army was present, by the remonstrances of the writers, & Titus remained in his office without opposition, and was confirmed in his authority.
*Colony of Lions discontented, and as it were a nurcery of tales by reason of their constant affaite to Nero: but greater matter to forse an ale lie, and win it credit, the camp itself did yeeld upon hatred, fear, security also, when they had measured their owne abilitie. Aulus Vitellius entering the year 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 referred to their rooms, to their fame and honor, most part to win favor, and some upon judgement, undoing that with integrity, which Fonteins Capito upon bribery and lucre had done displacing or placing for money in degrees of service: neither were his doings accepted after the measure of an ordinary Lieutenant general, but in a far higher degree. And as among the severer sort Vitellius was thought base and demise, to his favorers termed it courte-

**Note:**

Of Cornelius Tacitus.
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tifie and goodnèffe, because without measure or judgement he gave out his owne,

that other mens, construing 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 Coecina and Fabius Valens " Lieute-

nants of Legions, in appetites inmoderate, & singularly rash. Valens offended with

Galba, as being not recompenced according to his deserts for discovering \n
Veruginiius doubtfull proceeding, and the oppressing Capitoes conspiracy, ceased not to

urge and incite Vitellius, laying open before him the soldierys fervent good will;

the honourable report that went every where of his doings: as for Hordeonius Flac-

cus that filly man could hinder but little, that Britanny would joyfe, the Germane

Aides follow him, that the Provinces were not affured; in fine that the old man

was Emperour of courtefe and quickly would lose it, let Vitellius only but open his

bosome, make towards, and receive in good fortune, as the offered her self: that Ver-

giniius indeed had good caufe to be doubtfull, being onely of a Gentlemanes house,

his father having not borne office; the place was above his capacitie, if he had un-

dertaken it, and then refuuing it, he was out of danger: that contrariwiſe Vitellius

father had beenthrice Consull, Censor, * collegh with the Emperour: that these

qualities in the father took long agoe from the son the secutie of a private perfon,

and put upon him the dignitie of a Prince. His dull spirits were moved with these

speeches rather to defire then to hope. But in upper Germany Cæcina a comely

young man, ofbody big, and minde infatiable, quick of speech, of gate stately, had

marvellously won the good will of the soldiery. This young man Galba promoted

to govern a Legion, for that being Quætor in Bætica, he came without stay to his

side: by and by being convicted to have dealt fale with the common treasure, he

was by Galbaes commandement endird of purloyning: Cæcina taking heavily the
disgrace, determined to trouble the state, and with the calamities of the common-

wealth to cover and close up his owne private wounds. Neither in the Army wanted

there feedes of feditio: for they all had beene present in the field against Vindex,

and could not be brought to swear unto Galba, before they did know that Nero

was slaine; and were also in taking the oath prevented by the ensignes of low Ger-

many, againe the Treveri, Lingones, and those other cities, which Galba had pinch-

ed with heauie edicts, or with loffe of Territory, lay neere to the standing Camps

of the Legions; whereupon grew feditious conferences, and the soldiery by conver-

fation with the \ Country-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 6 Right-hands in token of

mutual love and hospitalitie, their messengers purposely with sad cheere and heavy

countenance in the Principia, in the soldierys cabins, lament and bewail, sometime

the wrong done to themselves, sometime the honor done to their neighbours, and

perceiving their talke had fo ready an audience, they passed on further, incensing

their mindes, and bewaying the hard hap even of the Army it selfe, their dangers,

and contumelies. The matter thus growing toward a feditio, Hordeonius Flac-

cus commandeth the messengers to get them away; and that their departure might

be the more secret, he commands them to avoid the Campes in the night season.

Thereupon a confusion and grievous tumult arose, the most part affirming they were

made away: and that without doubt, unless they provide for themselves the more

fuarely, it would come to paffe that those of the soldierys which were of moft courage,

and most disliked the present estate, should likewise by night, unawares to the rest,

be secretly murdered. Upon this the Legions privily conspire, and covenant toge-

ther:
...the Aide-souldier was made also of the party, whom at first they suspected as though with his cohtors and wings environing them he meant them a mischief; but anon he appeared more earnest then any, as the bad agree better to broach a new ware, then in peace to keepe concord one with another. Notwithstanding the Legions of lower Germany, the first day of January, sware their solemne allegiance to Galba, with much ado, and flowing forward, some few in the first rankes yielding a wake applause; the rest stading mute, each looking his neighbour should dare, as the nature is of men, to follow with speede that, which they are otherwise of themselves loath to begin: but even the Legions were diversly minded, the first and the fifth 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 Army the fourth Legion and the eighteenth, wintering 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, anon 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 style long ago over worne; no Lieutenant, no Tribune labouuring for Galba, yea some, as in tumults it happeneth, troubling more: nevertheless no man presumed to make any solemne or threatened alliance, wife, or out of Tribune: for as yet they had none to bestow their benefit upon. Hordeonius Flacus Lieutenant general stood by and look on, while this playing was not, daring neither to restraine the rebellious, nor stay the doubfull, nor encourage the good; a timorous fluge, and innocent, as being a coward. Fourte Centurions of the eighteenth Legion, Noctius Receptus, Donatus Valens, Romilius Marcellus, & Calpurnius Repentinus, endevouring to save and protect the Images of Galba, with the souldiers violence were carried away, bound and laid up: neither did there remain any more in any of them all any spark of faith, or allegiance, no memory of the oath before given; but as in sedicions it happeneth, as the most part went, did they all goe. The same day, at night the * Standard-bearer of the fourth Legion brings words to Vitellius, as he sat at banquet in Coleyn, that the fourth and eighteenth Legion had broken down the Images of Galba, and sworn to the Senate and people of Rome. That oath seemed frivolous and void: wherefore it was thought good to use the opportunity, and profer them a Prince. Thereupon Vitellius dispatched in post to the Legions and Lieutenantes of his own province, adverting them that the higher army was revolted from Galba: wherefore either fight they must against the revolters, or if they liked better of peace, and concord, set up an Emperor: and with lesse dangers they might take a Prince, then seek one. The first Legion lay nearest, and Fabius Valens Lieutenant, of all the rest the forwardest man: who the very day after, with the horse-men of his Legion, and of the Aides, entering Coleyn, *solemnely falue Vitellius Emperor. The rest of the Legions of the same province ftove who should be formost to follow the example; and higher army, laying aside those glorious titles, and goodly to shew, of the Senate and people of Rome, the third of January roundly come over to Vitellius side: a man might easily perceive that the other two daies they meant nothing lesse, then a free Common-wealth. They of Coleyn, the Treveri, and Lingones, were not inferior to the souldiers in forwardness, offering aides, horses, armoure, money, as they were capable in body, wealth, or wit, and not only the 7 principal men of the Colonies and camps, which had预制ly wealth at will, and upon the victorie hoped for great matters, but also the *bands and common souldiers, upon an instinct and heart of...
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 affection, and covetous humour, gave up their money, and instead of money their belts, their trappings, the silver trimming of their harness. Vitellius having greatly commended their cheerful willingnes, committed the offices of court commonly supplied by freedmen, to Gentlemen of Rome; and paires the vacations to the Centurions out of his coers. The fouldiers cruelty demanding many to death he doth oft condescend unto: sometimes he deceives them with freedom of imprisioning. Pompeius Propinquus, Procurator of Belgica, was straight put to death: Julius Burdo admirall of the German navy he savd by flight, the whole army was incensed against him, as first an enister of Pontius Capito to rebell, & then a great helper to make him away: well beloved was Capito, & gladly remembred; and in that raging and blood thisty company a man might openly kill whom he list, marry pardon or five but by policy he could not: so Burdo was presently had into prison, and after the victory, the fouldiers malice being appeased, enlarged againe. In the meane time Crispinus the Centurion was yeelded unto them, as an expiatory sacrifice, who had embrewed his hands with Capitoes blood, and therefore more in the eye of the fouldier, and of leffe account with Vitellius. Next after was Julius Civi-lis, a man of great might, and credit among the Batavians, delivered from danger left by his death that fierce nation should become foes. Moreover in the state of the Lingones there lay of Batavians eight cohorts, the aids of the fourteenth Legion, but then by means of the troublesome times they were departed away, of no small moment to sway the whole cause, as they hapned to favour the one or the other. The foure Centurions before mentioned, Nonius, Donatius, Romilus and Cal-purnius, Vitellius commanded to be executed, being attainted of truth, a most hainous crime among rebels. Then came to the side Valerius Asiaticus Lieutenant of Belgica, to whom anon after Vitellius married his daughter; and Junius Bloeus Governour of Gallia Lugdunensis with the Italian Legion, and Taurin wing encamped at Lions. The Rhoetian fouldier without any stay joyned himselfe. In Britanny also the matter went cleere. Trebellius Maximus was Lieutenant generall there, contemned and hated of the army for his niggardly sparing and pollingu: and Roesius Coelius Lieutenant of the twentieth Legion inflamed them further against him his ancient enemy, but now by occasion of civill diſfentions they were fallen out further, and brake into more hainous terme: Trebellius objecting to Coelius, & charging him with factious behaviour, and diſsolving of discipline: Ceilius againe that Trebellius had spoild and beggered the legions: but in the meantime, the Lieutenant thus jarring, the modesty of the army was marred; the discord at length growing so great, that Trebellius being railed away by the Aides also, in cohorts and wings forcing themselves to Coelius side, was glad to give place being forsaken, and flee to Vitellius. The Province although the Lieutenant generall was able, remained in quiet, the Lieutenant of the Legions supplying the charge, in all of equal autharitie; but Coelius indeed bare the most stroke, because he was of most boldnesse. Now that the British hoste was adjoyne, Vitellius growing strong in men and money, ordaine for the warre two fundry generals, and two fundry waies for the generals to passe. Fabius Valens was willed to allure by faire meanes, or if they refused, to waste and destroy the countries of Gallia, and se by Cottian Alpes to enter by force into Italy. Caccina was commanded a shorter parage, by the Penine Alpes to make his descent. Valens had under his conduct the choife men of the lower army, and the fifth Legion with cohort and wings, forty thousand armed men. Out of the higher Germany Caccina led thirty thousand, the flower and strength whereof consisted in the one and twentieth Legion. Moreover the
they had both assigned unto them ? Aides of the Germans; out of whom Vitellius, who was to follow with the main weight of the war, furnished up his Army also. Strange was the difference between the Army and their Emperor, the souldier was instant, demanding Armes while they of Gallia stood in a face, while Tacitus in a doubt: as for the winter, that was not so, nor such like excuses receivable, only in idle and peaceable times: that Italy must out of hand be invaded, the City surprised; that nought is more false then speed in civil diffension, where dispatch is more needful then long consultation: on the other side Vitellius, a man of nothing, playing the Prince before hand in rioting and prodigall banquers, drunk at noone day, and heavy with surfeit; but the souldiers forwardly and fervently supped the place of the leader, as if he were present in person, encouraging or terrifying the valiant or daftard. When all was in order ready to march, they call to found the remove, increaing Vitellius style with the name of Germanicus: for Caesar, even after the victory, he refused to be called.

The Army growing inolent, &c. Caesar sum omnibus copis suis Teveris forens, praeda, quaeque exercitui. Exercitus esse igitur aque apo exercitui non esse accept. Vegetus lib. 4. cap. 1. and to it seeth that Tacitus here doth in some sort approprate the name that the Roman trained souldier, tearming the raw and untrained of Vinder, copies, which word notwithstanding is common to both forces. 1. Hist. Augustum, copiasque guinex corroscevit, meaning the two Legions remaining there. Beside this use copis hath also in Tacitus another signification for provision, or virtualls, 3. Hist. & these pur a mandari copiarum civili praeda miles intus lotteret, and Livius ala scquente Periculum rex, santon ino copiarum egiuflantima pos. argum municipi. 4. Hist. Nihilique exercitui stygi, quern ceddas copiarum fidagord, and in this in this books, Pratius & promiscus copias suarum minet.

That in the Legions every tenth man was allotted to dye.] In ancient time if some great part of the Army had lost their ensignes, throwne away their weapons, and run cowardly out of the field, the manner was for the General to pull all the standard-bearers, Centurions, &c. to death, and of the commonfort every tenth man. The example is in Livy, lib. 4. of Appus Claudius in the Volscian war, in Dio, of Augustus and Antony, lib. 49. and in Tacitus of L. Aponius Profulfil of Africa when ancient discipline was well expired. Annal 5. The manner is in Polybius, lib. 6. had it thus so obliged to the enemy to cut off their ensignes, indeed, and that the souldiers might not have occasion in their passage to use them again, without any danger of it. That is, what ever the emperor thought, or commanders with the possession of their ensignes, throwne away their weapons, and ran cowardly out of the field, the manner was for he could not use them again, without any danger of it. That is, if at any time it happen that whole ensignes profided by the enemy doe forsake their standing and run away, the manner of the Romans is not straightways to put them all to death with those differences, but they follow a mean course both prudent and orderly. For the Tribune calling the Army together and producing tho which failed in service, he first checketh them sharply, and in conclusion out of the offenders the chairth by lot for sometime five, sometimes eight, twenty, always having an eye to the number, and yning as near as he can take every tenth man) and th toile on whom the lot falleth be beaten to death with clubs without resumption. To this end they give their allowance in Barely in stead of Wheat, and to command them to quarters without their ensignes and place of lurid. And not only upon the cauſe before rehearsed of Bara, and the sale of their ensignes and calling away their armes, but upon occasion of a marine Sopio in Spain in the second year of the Punicke, and in latter times also, when severity of discipline was much decayed, Caesar at Placentia renewed the custom, and Antony at Brundium. Livius lib. 14. Appianus, 3. Rom. & s. Roman. Dio lib. 41.

The Colony of Lyons discontented] The Senate fearing that Lepidus and Plancus, whom they had call'd into Italy, would betray the fide, and goe to Antonius, will'd them all to stay in France, and found the Colony of Lyons, at the confeit of the Rhone, and the Rhone, and thereto place those which before had been driven out of Vienna by the Allebroges. Dio lib. 46. Now Lyons in Nerona time being burnt, bene Jutius, Faith Tacitus 16. Annual. 8. quattuor, B. 3 Lib. 4a of praetors, and therefore they had cause to love Nero, as of the other side to hate Galba, qui ordinem interemt occultat in his fide quo, Tae.

The Countrye man: Paganus] Paganus a Townes man, a Countrye man, in opposition to milites. Veget. 3. a. c. 3. 1

Rome si divinae effe morum, nihil paganae dixit a militar, and that with superstions] Galba uttereth in these wordes, Dicitus paganae turba, the selfe faire circuamit Tacitus in this booke with these Digged, continuo sedem, and Tactitus himselfe, Hist. 7. Thir militia legimina, & tumulatae Belgomer Cohortis, final pagamum, lata munimentum, sedanis, et rapidus peritum, omnium, and argum. 2. Hist. M. Aurelius imperator mecum milites quantum legimina, adscianturm, per duos, qui in duxse pagamer centurio, et continuo. Antonius Primus, 3. Hist. Diguying the Pretorians (who were before discharged of their service and disarm'd by commision from the Vitellius) pagamus, &c. pos. mihi, qui, quin, adit imperator, que cadet, nunc excusus ? Ideas. Caesar at Rome in a time when the pretorians were discharged of their service and disarm'd by commision from the Vitellius) pagamus, &c. pos. mihi, qui, quin, adit imperator, que cadet, nunc excusus ? Ideas. Caesar at Rome, in a time when the pretorians were discharged of their service and disarm'd by commision from the Vitellius) pagamus, &c. pos. mihi, qui, quin, adit imperator, que cadet, nunc excusus ? Ideas. Caesar at Rome, in a time when the pretorians were discharged of their service and disarm'd by commision from the Vitellius) pagamus, &c. pos. mihi, qui, quin, adit imperator, que cadet, nunc excusus ? Ideas. Caesar at Rome, in a time when the pretorians were discharged of their service and disarm'd by commision from the Vitellius) pagamus, &c. pos. mihi, qui, quin, adit imperator, que cadet, nunc excusus ? Ideas. Caesar at Rome, in a time when the pretorians were discharged of their service and disarm'd by commision from the Vitellius) pagamus, &c. pos. mihi, qui, quin, adit imperator, que cadet, nunc excusus ? Ideas. Caesar at Rome, in a time when the pretorians were discharged of their service and disarm'd by commision from the Vitellius) pagamus, &c. pos. mihi, qui, quin, adit imperator, que cadet, nunc excusus ? Ideas. Caesar at Rome, in a time when the pretorians were discharge
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Germany had given threed signts of small good ling of Galba. Sin the morn, he  

But the Romans, according to the usual manner of the Romans, many of the fouldiers at the first murmured, and  

and when as the Captains persisted in their wishes, they answered and cried again, He doth not desire it. Now to  

breake downe the images of the Prince was the usual beginning in all rebellions. 3. Hist. Trierarch magno tumultu  

Vitellius imagines invadunt, & pauci rifiellmam obrucentur, &c. In the same place. Simil Vitellii imagines atrepere.  


firmam facti quas nonumnum senserant, & adpud Viam in quo erat crassa, veterum, colungemque dumca eleusus, a  

ni nonus indicum ex vocabulo ipsius.  

7. The principal men of the Colonies) Principes coloniwm, be the Decemvirs, Principes cfrorum, whom Vegetius  

lib. 2. calleth also militares principes, and Tactus 3. hist. primores cfrorum, are the Aquilifer, Signifer, Optimus,  

&c. qui privilegium monuntur. Whereas the rest, the common fouldiers are called munifices, quod munia facere cogniti,  

8. Julius Civilis) The same man who afterward with the Batavians, and aid of the French and Germans, maintain  

war for long with the Romans, as it appeareth 4. and 5. Hist. Of the event here noted Tactus makes mention again,  

4. Hist. Lucius Paulus, & Claudius Civilis, rega ferpe, multo ceteris, (Batavos nobilis) ansebat. Paulum Fami  

nemus Capito falsa rebellionis crimine interficit, impe cfrilis dextra, m'fusque ad Neronem, & a Gallo abolitum  

no finam diiferminum adis, flanlante (applirationi tui exercitu. Inde causa rurum, autque ex multis noftris. Whence is to be marked, that  

he calleth him there Claudius Civilis, whom here he nameth Julius Civilis, forgering himselfe in the one or the  

other, or else the describers of the books not forgetting their accustomed phrase.10. Of Batavians eight Cohorts, the Aides of the fourteenth Legion) The great and notable rebellion of Britannia,  

by the vertue of Suetonius Paulinus, and valiantnee of the fourteenth Legion, not without great lose of men being  

satisfied, Nero sent out of Germany theer a fresh supply of several legiones, a thousand horse and eight Coh  

orts of Auxiliaries, which I take to be the very eight Cohorts of Batavians mentioned here. However, certain  

it is that these Cohorts of Batavians were assignd as Auxiliaries to the fourteenth Legion: That Nero, for what occa  

sion foever, upon special confidence of their valor sent for one into Italy the same Legion, with her auxiliaries: That  

in the troubles of Vindex the Auxiliaries upon some quarrel departed from the Legion in prejudice, as it may seeme,  

of Neroes cause: That Galba coming to state the Legion was sent into Illyricum, the Batavians into Britain na  

gaine, and in the meanseason, as they were in their way thitherward, hearing the newes of Vitellius commotion they  

joynd themselves to the side. For confirmation of the present Tactus alone may suffice. 14. Annal. Ausoniae  

copias, & atque etiam legiones opitiuus, male legiones mutabis, adeo auxiliarium collocationibus, male auxiliares  

ad imperium Clemens, & Domitius, Pannoniaeque legiones, precipulam saepe, Saturnicam Britanniam comprorep.  

addi. dextrae gloriae Neronis elingente ut postnmus, unde longissimo ora Neronem sedi, et in fame book, subito. Batavorum,  

qui bello Neronico & Saturnesco legioni digressit, cum Britanniam proertit, audito Vitiellius munit in civitate Linum. Fabio Val  

tini adjunxit reliabilis, &c. etque legiunis tenetique acceffum, concinnat & & Saturnisciobustam, abhinc Neronem  

Italianas, aitque omnem bello fortissimus in ipsum munus sibi datum.  

11. With the name of Germanicus) The first of the Romans that bare the name of the place they conquered was  

Cn. Marcius of Coriolanus named Coriolanus; then P. Scipio the elder of Africa subdued, & Africanus; & Lucius his  

brother likewise of Aisia, Aulicus. Many of the Mertells, more for diffusion, then for any notable conquest obra  

get; if it be true which Paulinus alledge, a hist. Britannicum militem ab aci miliari, which Taurus beeld of  

writreth, In Britannico exercitu nihil abrum. Non fame ali legiones pro omnibus civilium bellorum munus innocens est, how  

can it be true that here is said, Adjutum Britannico exercitu, and in another place: Vitiellius & Britannico detecllo ollia  

nisi adjutum?  

12. With the name of Germanicus) The first of the Romans that bare the name of the place they conquered was  

Lucius Libarro.  

X. How Fabius Valens guided his charge of forty thousand fighting  

men from Coleyn to the Carnian Alpes.

The very day of removing there appeared a lucky signe to Fabius Valens, and the Army which he led to the war, an Eagle softly flying before, as the army marched, as it were to note out the way, & for a great space the fouldi
ers so shouted for joy, and the bird passed on without fear; so assuredly, it was reputed an undoubted token of great and prosperous success. The rate of Trier's, as friends, they passed through with all security. At Divodurum a town of the Mediomatrici, although they were with all kinds of curtesy received, a sudden fear came upon them, and the alarm was given to sack the poor innocent city, not for the prey or defile of spoil, but upon a fury, and rage, and causes not known, and therefore the remedies harder to finde: till at length, being pacified by Valens entreaty, they held their hands from razing the city: notwithstanding about four thousand men were slain. This accident brooke such a terror into them of Gallia, that always after, as the Camp was a coming, whole Cities with their Officers and humble supplications went out for to meet them, with women and children down on their knees along the way side, and generally all means by which the men affrighted their enemies anger; though war they had none, yet then were they forced to purchase their peace. Valens in the city of the Leuci received the news that Galba was slain, and Otho in place: the soldier was neither gladder, nor fadder, having nothing but war in his mind: the French thereby were resolved; Otho and Vitellius they hated alike, and Vitellius they feared beside. The next city, was that of the Lingones, sure to the side; being entertained there curteously, they requited it with modest behaviour: but the joy lasted not long through the disorder of those Cohorts, which being departed, as before I have said, from the fourteenth Legion, Fabius Valens had joyned to his army, hard words grew at the first, then quarrelling between the Batavians, and Legionaries: and as the rest of the soldiers fured on sides, it had weleh call to a hot fray, had not Valens in time, by punishing a few, reclaimed the Batavians, who had now forgotten their duty. Against the Heduis was fought, but in vaine, some occasion of war: being willing to bring in both money and Armour, they brought also victuals for nothing. That which the Heduis did upon fear, the same did the Lugdunens for joy, nevertheless the Italian Legion and Taurin wing were taken away. The eighteenth Cohort it was thought convenient to leave there at Lions in the accustomed standing Campe. Manlius Valens Lieutenant of the Italian Legion, although he had well deserved of the side, was not in any credit with Vitellius: Fabius by secret insinuer reports had defaced him unwitting, in outward speech commending him, that he might be at more unawares circumvented. The ancient heart-burning between them of Lyons and them of Vienna, was by the late war freshly revived: much hurt was done on both sides: so often and in so cruel a sort, that a man might easily see, they fought not alone for Nero and Galba: and Galba by occasion of displeasure had confiscated the revenues of the Lugdunens, contrariwise much honoured them of Vienna: whereupon grew emulation and envy, and inseparable hatred betweene them, whom one River separateth. Upon these causes the Lugdunens incited the fouldiers severally to the subversion of the Vienennes; shewing unto them how they had besieged Lions, furthered Vindex attempts, mustered of late Legions for Galba: and having so placed in the first shew the causes why justly they were to be hated; then they suggested to the fouldiers minde, what a rich and wealthy prey they might get: and so from secret exhorting proceeding to publick requests, they besought them to goe and revenge so many wrongs, to raze the seat-towme of the French war: that there was nothing else but strangers and enemies: contrariwise themselves a Roman colony, and part of the army, their companions in wealth and in woe: and if fortune should chance to disfavour, they prayed not to leave, and abandon their friends, to the mercy of their mortal and merciless enemies. With thefe
The firſt Book of the Hiſtory of theſe speeches and many ſuch like they had wrought and incenſed theſeſouldiers so, that even the Lieutenants, and Captaines of the ſide did diſantly thinke it a poſſible matter to quench their cholera; when they of Vienna in very goodſeaſon, foreseeing their danger, with 3 sacred veles and inſules af ore them, as the army marched, embracing their armour, their knees, their feet, mollified theſeſouldiers minds: beſide, Valens beſtowed upon them 3 hundredſeſterces a man. Then was the ſacred veles and inſules: Velamenta & infula...
beat Vitellius devotion, and exasperated his forward and troublesome disposition. The warre was commenced through the ravennings and hauntiness of the one and twentieth Legion; who by force took away certaine money, which the Helvetians had sent to the pay of a garrisone, in a.Castle ancienly kept by their owne men, and at their owne cofts. The Helvetians being highly displeased at the fact, intercepted letters sent from the army of Germany to the Legions of Pannonia, committing a Centurion, and certaine fouldiers to ward. Caecina desirous of warre, and ready to revenge faults as they fell, without giving time of repentance, removed his Campe hastily forward, wafteth the countrey, and facketh a place well peopled, by reason of the pleasant and wholesome bates, and through long peace beautified with buildings in forme of a free town: word also was sent to the Rhoetian Aides to affilie the Helvetians backs, as they made head to the Legions. The Helvetians fierce before danger, in danger fearful, thought at the first tumult they had chosen a captain Claudius Severus, yet wiff not at all how to handle their weapons, to keep their array: they had no common counsell amongst them to direct their doings all to one end: to venture the battell against the old experimented fouldier, would be their ruine: to try the fiege seemed unsafe, their walles being decayed, and fallen for age: on the one side was Caecina with a puissant army; on the other the wings and Cohorts of Rhoetia, and the Rhoetian youth practisde in armes, and trained up fouldier-like, on every side there was burning and killing: in the midst the Helvetians fragling, flinging weapons away, and for the most part wounded or wandering in disarray, fled to the mount Vocetius; and being straightway by a cohort of Thracians beaten downe from their hold, and chaced by the Germanes and Rhoetians, they were in the woods and cvoerts put to the sword: thousands of men, and men slaine, * many fold to be slaves. And as the Army, having spoiled the countrey marched toward Aventicum head-City of the Nation in battell array, meffengers were sent to yeeld up the City: which being accepted, Julius Alpinus a principal man was by Caecinaes sentence adjudged to die, as one which had raised the trouble: the rest he referred to Vitellius to pardon, or punish as pleased him best. Whereupon the Helvetians send Embassadours thither: it is hard to say whether of both they found Emperor or Army, harder to be appeaied: the fouldiers require the towne to be razed, they bend their weapons and hits against the Embassadours faces; and Vitellius for his part Iapeth no threats, nor speeches, till Claudius Coelius, of the Embassadour, a famous Orator, but cunningly cloaking his Art with an apt kind of fable, and so much the more of force to periade, appeaied the fouldiers furious wrath: * as usually the common sort is suddenly cruel, and with in a moment as prone to pity, as it was before excessively cruel: with shedding of tears, and importunate begging a better answere, they obtained at length that their City should be faved and pardoned. Caecina having stayed a few daies in Helvetia of purpose to heare how Vitellius resolved, and withall preparing to passe the Alpes, received from Italy a joyfull meffage, that the Syllan wing which lay about Po had sworne to Vitellius. They had serving in Ertick under Vitellius being Proconsull, and afterward being removed from thence by Nerces appointment to passe into Egypt, and stayed upon the troubles of Vindex, and so remaining in Italy, they went to the side, periaded thereto by the Decurions, who being holding to Vitellius, and utterly unaccounted with Otho, extolled the strenght of the Legions coming, the fame and renowne of the Germane Army; and as a present for a new Prince, they brought over to his fide the strongest free townes beyond the Po, Milan, Novara, Eporedia and Vercelles. That advertisement...
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The very next day after that Galba was slain, as it seems to Plutarch. The Cotteri are not sufficient to defend the largest country of Italy, and Petrin Wing, himself pausing awhile, and standing in doubt, whether he should turn aside into Noricum by the Rhetic mountains, against Petronius the Procurator, who had raised the country, and broken the bridges in Otho's behalf: but fearing to lose the Aides he had sent, and counting it more reputation to retain Italy; and that Noricum, whereover the matter should chance to be tried, would follow, and increase the conqueror's hope; he conducted over by the way of the Penine mountains, thoro the winter snows, his heavy Legionary Fouldeier.

1 Petrin wing] Our printed bookes have in Alpe Gra'a, corruptly no question, for Alpe Grae are the passage one of Savoy into Italy, as I think by mount Semli, or S. Bernardo minor, the direct way from Lyons to Milan. One of Sufferland, where Cecina was, be the Penina, by mount S. Bernardo Major The Cotteri are out of Dauphin into Italy by mount Geneva. In the Vatican copy of Tacitus it is cum Alpe carina, which with false mutation of letters and more possibility of circumstance, we may rather imagine should have been, cum ala Petrina, then cum ala Taurina, which passed the other way with Valens, and Tacitus himselfe.§ Hift. make mention of one Claudius Sagitta, which was Petrinus, and Petrinus ala Petrina.

2. His heavy Legionary Subsignum milites & greges legiunnium egnm (and yet there was here but one whole Legion, the one and twentieth) may seeme to signifie both one thing, as being contra-divided both to Auxilia: Hift. Exemplour legionario perpetuo auxiliorum. 4. Hift. Idem, quae in Rubi auxiliis, monitis, subsignum milite medium sumere, Auxilia paxum circumfusum: And yet in another place we have, Quo quid sub signo fessum.

Now Otho in the meantime, contrary to all expectation, did not give over himselfe to pleasure and idleness; but differred his delights, dissembled his riot, and ordered all as was most fitting for the honour of the Empire. This glofe of virtues and vices which would return to their course, increased mens fear. And first he commanded Marius Celsus Consul elect, whom before he had favored from the soldieres rage by a colourable casting in prison, to be sent for into the Capitol: his meaning was, by pardoning so noble a man, so odious to the side, to purchaser a name of mercifull dealing. Celsus being called, constantly confessed the whole accusation of faithfullness unto Galba, affirming that Princes were not to mislike such examples: and Otho, not as remitting a fault, but admitting the defence as just and vertuous, straightforward way put him in place neerest about him, and anon in the warre appointed him one of his principal leaders; left lying asleep as a pardoned enemie, he might peradventure suspect the breach were but badly made up: and Celsus, fatally favouring the losing side, perswisted unfortunately faithfull for Otho also. The saving of Celsus, an act which rejoiced the chief of the City, and was to the common fort plausible, even of the foudier was not misliked, admiring that vertue, with which they were displeased ere while.

1 Were not to mislike such example: Exemplum ultra impetus. I. Impetus in Tacitus is a word of a middle signification, indifferent to the good part and bad; yet more usually standing for beneficium bonum numen, or some such like thing. Examples, Hist. 1. Neque enim esse alium, esse imputandum, that is, for as yet there was none whom they might account benefitted by the revolt. In this place, Exemplum ultra impetus, he accounted this fact of his standing true to his old master beneficial to Otho also, and the example not to bee disliked of any Prince whatsoever. Plutarch, I know in the beginning of Otho femet to take it otherwise, nuncius (c. 100) Mariam Clementem aequam aequam, bene aequam, aequam in bello beneficiis, aequam in bello beneficiis, & aequam in bello beneficiis, & aequam in bello beneficiis, & aequam in bello beneficiis, & aequam in bello beneficiis, & aequam in bello beneficiis, & aequam in bello beneficiis, & aequam in bello beneficiis, & aequam in bello beneficiis, & aequam in bello beneficiis, & aequam in bello beneficiis.
of Cornelius Tacitus.

he was forgiven, to whom Celsus made answer both courageous and pertinent, saying that the accusation itself gave sufficient proof of his honesty, for what else was he charged with all but that he had been faithfull to Galba to whom he was nothing beholden? whereupon they that were present much admired them both, and the foudliers did not dislike it. But we may give him good leave to err in confining one hard place of Tacitus, that in so many wise Cæsar mistake. But in the like kind Plutarch seems at times onenous, and so doth the German; if I do not, the sense is, Cæsar in both places: But the meaning of Tacitus is, that in benefit of their adversarie they are prevacuated with their own side. Vide meus, et cæterum consilium, polet imperi us Vespasianus, quos apud Vespasianum excusanda, that is, that they might reckon and score it up as benefit to Vespasian, which with Vitellius needth exce...
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ched whilst Galba, Otho, and Vitellius lived; and after their times, mighty in money, and because she was childless, good helps in all the worlds both good and bad.

1 (a) Sophonius Tegellinus] Of Tigellinus all the stories are full. After the death of Barbalissus, Nero, Guish
(b) Tacitus in a Paterioris cohorsim imperfect. Peuarius Tegellinus ex uulius libidinibus afferentiam, nomine affluerunt, pecunia et auctore atque accuratorem. That is, in luxuriousness and cruelty, exceeding all the men of his time. Xiphil. for those were indeed the two ventures, by which Tegellinus was so much credit with Nero. Tacit. 15. Annal. Feniium uti famaque laudatum, per sequantum immissimissicque Tigellinus in animo principis antilat. Against, Poppea & Tigellino ceram, quadrata seu: minimi principium minimorum, interiecto, et. 14. Annal. He is described as the only Author of all the mirths of that time. Polidio induit Tigellinus, et malum ait, quod duas longas politicas, gravissima res, si principum societate factur eorum mensurums, metus eum viscerat et. Tacitus hothow for his authors or privy as to the burning of Rome. "Policed in famine idem in Cubilium habuit; quod praedita Tegellini Arystaniae postuerit. A fit man in all respects for a bad make, and unfit to have been by Galba protected.

2 To famish the city of Rome] Tacitus. Hist. Africanem ostendt maiusparent, terrae, marisque in odore paratatem, classi annuere subsidia imponam ex dispositio festinum, for so was it, that Egypt and Africk furnished the City of Rome for cornë Egypt for four months in the year, and Africæ for eight. Jus tus 13, Annal. 28, pagis, 15 libr. The soldiers of the soldiery of Aquilæa, and, of such men, whose large proportions of corn was intended. That is, They of Africa belide eight months provision of cornë yearly for the people of Rome, pay all manner of tributes, and willingly support all other charges of the Empire. Et postulat, &c. 34. &c. 36. Tich, &c. That is, Egypt pays more tribute in one month than the Jews do in a whole year, and bestrs this great summe of moneth they yield provision of cornë for Rome for the space of four months.

3 Mighty in money and because she was childless] Rich and childless; two good helps to get many friends; every man contending to please them, of whose wealth he may hope to be heir. S/he was being in Nero's ecleed a reprehendandum vult (famous) Tacitus, and, by the end of it, they were called apostrophæ (it is) nigro, multumque seminibus, &c. That is, They of Africæ belide eight months provision of cornë yearly for the people of Rome, pay all manner of tributes, and willingly support all other charges of the Empire. Et postulat, &c. 34. &c. 36. Tich, &c. That is, Egypt pays more tribute in one month than the Jews do in a whole year, and bestrs this great summe of moneth they yield provision of cornë for Rome for the space of four months.
of Cornelius Tacitus.

if his mother and children took any harme: and so both the houses continued entire, for feare peradventure in Otho's times; but Vitellius being conquerour, and without such a bridle, carried away the undoubted 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 sworne unto him: the like was reported of Spaine, and Cluvius Rufus by publike edict solemnly praised, and by and by it was certified that Spaine had revolted to Vitellius. Aquitania likewise, though having received the oath to Otho tendered by Julius Cordus, remained not long in obedience: fidelity or love bare no where sway: 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, unto the nearer and stronger. The Provinces which were far off, and all the armies fevered by sea, remained at Otho's devotion, not for love to the side, but the name of the City, and shew of the Senat did greatly countenance, and credit the cause: and he had first posseffed their minds, as being the former in speech. In Jury Vespasian sware his army to Otho, and Mutianus the Legions in Syria: Egypt likewise and Eastward the Provinces were all posseffed in his name: Africa also in his obedience, they of Carthage being most forward; not expecting the Proconful Vipanius Apronianus authority, Crescenta Freedman of Nero (for he was in those bad times become a part of publike aires) had feasted the people for joy of the new Emperour, and the people hastened many things disorderly. The rest of the Cities followed the example of Carthage.

XVI. Otho bestowed offi ces: restoreth the banished: relieveth the Provinces: and erecteth the images of Poppea his old love.

The Armies and Provinces being thus distracted, for Vitellius it was needfull, if he would be Prince, to win it in field. Otho as in time of great peace disposed the affairs of the Empire, some according to the dignity of the State, and most otherwise hafting and shifting up as present necessity forced. And first he declared himselfe and Titianus his brother, Consuls till the Kalends of March: the next two Moneths were assigned to Verginius, to please in some part the German Army: with Verginius he joyneth Poppeus Vopiscus, under the colour of old acquaintance, most thought it was done to honour the Viennenes, the rest of the Consuls, as they were by Nero or Calba appointed, remained unchanged; Coelius Sabinus and Flavius Sabinus till July; Aurius Antotius, and Marius Celsus till September: whose offices also Vitellius after the victory confirmed unto them. The Pontificall dignities and Augurs rooms Otho bestowed upon ancient men, such as had borne already greatly Office, compleatly to perfect all points of their honour: and young noble-men, lately returnd from exile, he friendly remembered with their Fathers, and Grandfathers places among the Priests. Cadius Rufus, Pedius Bloeus and Sevinus Promptinus, in Claudius and Neroes time condemned for polling the provinces, were restored againe to their places in Senate. It pleased them which granted the pardon to change the true name; and term that, which indeed was extortion and bribery, crime of Majesty and treason, an accusation so hatefull, that in respect of it even good Laws were not observed. By
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The same way of bounty he sought to win the Cities and Provinces; granting (4) to the Hifpalienſes and Emeriſtenſes a new ſupply of families; making all the Lingo

nites Citizens of Rome; upon the Province of Batica bestowing in pure gift the

Townes of the Mooreſ; new liberties upon Cappadocia, and new upon Africk, more for a ſhew then for to continue. Among theſe things which the necessity of the present aﬀaires and cares at hand made paſſible good, Otho even then not un-
mindful of his old loves, by an order of Senate, cauſed the Images of Poppæa to be

erected again. It was also supposed he had a purpose to celebrate the memory of

Nero, in hope to allure the hearts of the Commons: and some there were which fet

out the Images of Nero; yea and certaine dayes the people and fouldier, in their a-

clamations to Otho, as though they meant to enable and honour him more, cried

To Nero Otho: he notwithstanding held it in fulpenfe, aſhamed to acknowledge, or afraid to forbid it.
of Cornelius Tacitus.

abroad, so that with great reason a man might demand in whose Consulship they were Consul; otherwise in authority the city was not differing anything the one from the other. Lib. 41, and, as much to preclude any of the consular acts of the others as of the previoius consul. That is, they which were first to enter had the name of Consul (as even yet it is used) during the whole year, as for the rest they which lived in Rome and other parts of Italy called them so during the time of their Office. But all that lived abroad either knew none or but few of them, whereupon they were called Consuls majoriis, and again lib. 15, 1, wherefore they are from this place. Consul, consularic, and consularibus respublicae sunt: That is, in all other things there is no oddity between us Consul, only they which enter first enjoy the prerogative of giving the name to the year. Notwithstanding this minor Consulhip served well enough to make a number. Example in Vespasian who bearing the office of Consul in Claudius time (5) for during the year.

For polling the Provinces, [Responsum in crim. Provin.,] The action of a prince by the governors of Provinces for money unduly extorted or cruelly exercised in their jurisdiction, so called of the more principal parts, because by that action, perversus caput ablatum, videlicet qui quid aliud ablatum, caput, conditum, accuratum fact, Provincium urbem repere esse justa fidei et non only the common extorted, but an arbitrary mulct was imposed besides, but in the difficulty and danger, in some cases, there indeed is the danger of giving a small matter escape well enough. And therefore Tully tells us (in fest, or in earnest) that the Provinces would surely prefer supplication to the Senate, that the Law be not repealed. His words be these, proponet prioria, atque in consensu Provinc. Tieum facere multis tenuissima publica, etc. 2. In Sicilia multis audientiis sese sepelliri esse, habere hominem potentem, cujus fiducia Provinciam specularet: nulloque annum toto judicibus reservaret. Ex. 41, 4, Sed enim in sermone milliudem dicere, quod ad M. Glabrium, naperdum est, quod in urbem, quod in urbe, quod in urbem, quod in urbe, quod in urbe, quod in urbe.

Either knew none or but few of them, whereupon they were called consules minori. And again lib. 31, 4, Awakdi, enter first in the enjoyment of the prerogative of giving the name to the year. But all that lived abroad either knew none or but few of them, whereupon they were called Consul minori. And again lib. 48, 3, Pius, se verum, se verum, se verum, se verum, se verum, se verum, se verum, se verum, se verum, se verum, se verum, se verum, se verum, se verum, se verum, se verum.

This law was induced by L. Calpurnius Pisannus, primo tertio bello patriae: and afterward revived by other with many new clauses and strict sanctions. Tac. 13, 1. Another, for that he had done greater service for the Prince, then that he was able any other way to require it. Another, for that in his story he had commended Cassius and Brutus enemies of the Monarchy, and dead above three-score years before. Others because they were descended of chiefe which in their time had been of near acquaintance with Pompey. Another because he had been a follower of Geminus, of whom Tiberius without just cause had ever been jealous. Another for making a Tragedy wherein certain verses were spoiled. Another because he had reformed the Greek, and whatever they added, and continued his estate, and had given a frame to the writing, for being dreamt of. In November, and in January, and on the first of the month, another for being dreamt of. In November, and in January, and on the first of the month, another for being dreamt of. In November, and in January, and on the first of the month, another for being dreamt of. In November, and in January, and on the first of the month, another for being dreamt of. In November, and in January, and on the first of the month, another for being dreamt of.
in the free state were derived abroad by the Senate's appointment, for so Velleius seems to divide them) they were divided for a recompend of old soldiers, who having spent the flower of their age in the service of their country, small reason it were to turn them a begging when they were aged. Wherefore Sylla, Caesar and the Emperor following, at the end of their service rewarded the old soldiers with an honourable maintenance of land of inheritance. In this kind of Colonies at the beginning universae legiones ducabantur cum tribunis, centumviris, & strato-jusque ordinis milibus, ut consuls & ceterae temp. efficient. Mela lib. 8. cap. 5. named some special Legions, and where they were placed. Secundum Aeneas, Scipionem Artiae, Spectandum Blerisc, Decorantur colonia Marcius Nero. In procere of this time this good order decaying, non uni legiones, sed legiones inter e ducebuscan, decerti mancipii, suaviores, suae officinis mutatis, quae et alio genere militum ordines in annis collet, numerus magis quam coloniae; and the proof thereof was, according, the soldiers flying away in proceeding, in quibus fluerunt more erant, and leaving the colonies desolate. Whether upon this or whatsoever occasion, apparent it is, that Hispalis and Emerita were both decayed, and therefore with new families hereby grace from Otho stocked again.

XVII. The Rhoxolani a people of Sarmatia vanquished, and slain by the soldiers of Moesia.

Mens mindes being set upon civil warres, externall matters were lightly regarded: by reason whereof the Rhoxolani a people of Sarmatia, having the winter before slain two cohorts, ventured more boldly to invade Moesia. Their former exploit, & conceit of themselves had assembled nine thousand horse, more minding the spoil, then provided to fight: whereupon the third Legion with the Aides assailed them suddenly as they were straggled and careless. The Romans had all things fitted for fight: the Sarmatians being scattered, or through greediness of spoil heavily charged, their horses being tired by reason of their burdens and slippery ways, as if their hands had been tied behind them, were hewed in pieces. It is wonder to see how all the Sarmatians valor is as were out of themselves: to fight a foot no nation so cowardly, on horseback by troupes they are hardly resisted: but then the weather being wet, and the frost somewhat thawed, neither their staves, nor long two-handed swords served in stead, through the flinding of their horses, and great weight of their catapults; a kinde of harness, that Princes and Noble-men use, composed of iron plates or stiffe bend-leather, which as against blows is sure and of proofe, so if one be borne down by the force of the enemy it maketh him unable to rise up again: beside they sunk into the snow being deep, and not able to bare: contrariwise the Roman soldier in his eafe corselet nimble and light, a farre off with a dart, or with launce charging upon them, and with a light sword neare at hand, the cafe so requiring, gored to long the unarmed Sarmatian (for it is not their manner to ward with their buckler) till at length a few which remained fled to the manifhes: in the one place the mortallesse, in the other the miserie of their wounds wonted them all. When this was by certain advice understood at Rome, Marcus Aponius Lieutenant generall of Moesia was honoured with a triumphall image, Fulvius Aurelius, Titus Julianus, and Numitus Lupus Lieutenants of the Legions with Consular ornaments; Otho rejoicing, and drawing the glory to himselfe, as if he also were fortunate in war, and had by his Leaders and armies enlarged the Empire.

Honoured with a triumphall image Triumphalis statua Tacit. 4. Annal. Some trees were lawreace in novo statua, &. And the entrance before of the same matter. Princes duxes improtrando fuis triumphibus insignia fuisse vet in credenti. Againe 15. Annal. Triumphale decus, and Triumphales suor imagines of the same. So that we may reasonably gather Triumphalis statum, to be either the same with Triumphalis insignia, or elles person of them, and yet indcribing the whole. This title of honour, nescit Strabo, unknown in the free Commonwealth, was conferred, as some do suppose, by Augustus upon Tiberius Annobus, conjunct. 74. Sueton. (2) Tiberio Qvis abe & cerni & est triumphalis statum, et tribunus uel triumphi sunt. Tiberius praeuus praeuus qui triumphalis insignia, & alius ensidiam et exercitum principi honorant. But (1) Dionysius reports, that it was to Augustus two verses before first granted. Sueton os Augusti instituere insignia, et ea uel triumphi sunt. Otho, & ceteris ac honestis, etiam si alius Augustus sit, in virtute sua tuum 

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A mutiny of the Guard soldiers.

About the same time upon a small sparkle a flame of sedition arose, from whence no danger was feared, to the destruction almost of the City. Otho had commanded the seventeenth cohort to be called from Ostia to Rome, and charge was committed to Varius Crispinus, one of the Prætorian Tribunes, to furnish it with Armour. Which that he might do at more ease, and without interruption, the camp being quiet, at the shutting of the evening he opened the Armoury, and commanded the Carts of the Cohorts to be laden. The time wrought suspicion, the cause bred a crime, at the afflicting of quietness proved to a tumult, and weapons seen among drunken persons stirred up a desire in them to do their deeds. The soldiers mutinied and charged the Centurions and Tribunes with treason, affirming they purposed to put in the Senate and the Senators men against Otho, some upon ignorance, and overcome with drink, the worst seeking occasion to spoil the common fort (as it is commonly seen) desirous of novelty howsoever: and as for the better and sounder part, the darkness did not permit them to shew their obedience. And first they murder Crispinus the Tribune, and the several part of the Centurions repugning to their sedition attempts: then taking arms, and drawing their swords, on horse-back they make toward the town, and the Palace. Otho that night had the principal men and women of the City at banquet; who standing amazed and misunderstanding what it might be, a casual rage of the soldiers: or a prince of the emperor, whether were more danger to stay and be taken or to flee and disperse; sometime made fies ofournes, sometime bewrayed their fear, still casting an eye upon Otho's countenance, who, as it falls out where minds yield to suspicion, did fear, and was feared. And fearing no less for the Senators takes then for his own person, he both sent by and by the Captains of the Guard to appease in some sort the soldiers anger, and willed his Guests to get them away in all possible speed. Then might one have seen magistrates, every where cast down the marks of their office, eschewing the multitude of followers & servants, old men and women in dark without torch creepeth this way and that, few to their own houses, most to their friends, and meanest Clients where they least would be look'd for. The soldiers furiousely break open the gates of the Palace, and thrust into the banquetting place, rudely requiring a fight of Otho, having wounded a Tribune Julius Martialis, and Vitellius Saturnius* Lieutenant of a Legion, as they endeavored to withstand their violence. On every side armies and threats, sometime against the Centurions, and Tribunes, sometime against the whole Senate, frantick upon a blinde
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blinde fear, and because they could not name any one to the slaughter, demanding licence indifferently against all the Senat; tillſuch time as Otho standing upon his dining bed, contrary to the majesty of an Emperor, with tears and humble requests, at laſt, though hardly, refrained their rage: and so they returned to the Campe unwilling, though after so much harme done. The next day, as if the Town had been taken, the houses were shut, small stirring in streets, the people all sad, theſouldiers hanging their heads, with many heavy looks and little repentance. Licinius Procules and Plotius Firmus the Captains dealt with theſouldiers by bands, in gentle or rough fort, each after his nature: the conclusion was this, that they ſhould receive five thousand felterces a man. Then Otho boldly entered the camp: the Centurions and Tribunes come round about him, and ſealing away the marks of their degrees, desire diſmission from ſo unsafe a service. Theſouldiers perceived the meaning and framing themselves to obedience, require unbiddent the authours of the ſeſtion to death. Otho, although things were in ſuch a conſuſion, and theſouldiers diſverterly minded (the ſeſt requiring a remedy for the preſent disorder, the common fort, and more part, who liked ſeſtions, and corrupt government being more eſcelly brought by troubles and poiling to make civilized war) and withal remembering that state gotten by lewd means cannot be retained at first with sudden moſt, and an cient gravity; nevertheless carefully considering the danger of the City and Se nat, at laſt he ſpake in this wise. My fellow ſouldiers, I am not come hither to cite you to love me, and leſſe to exhort you to vertue and valour; for of boſth you have great store & too much: but I come to requeſt a moderation of your valour, and a ſead in your love toward me. No hatred it was, no ſeſire to ſave (with things have fet many Armies at diſcord) no danger you feared and meant to avoid, but a tender care, and excesſive affection it was toward me, more zealous then conſer vate, which bred and exciſted the yeafternights trouble: for ſoft the cauſes of things being good, yet where judgement is wanting, peſcious ends do ofteſſe. We are going to war, what? Is it expedient that all messenger 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 permitteth it not. I tell you it is as be hooveful that the ſouldiers ſhould be ignorant of ſome things, as know other ſome. The authority of Captains, the rigoure of discipline is of that nature, that many things muſt be only commanded and ſimply bidden by the Centurions and Tribunes. If when things are bidden every one may demand, & queſtion the matter, obeſience failing, government withall will fall to the ground: or ſhall there at mid nignt likeſwife the alarm be given? ſhall aſt and drunken companion or two (for I cannot believe they were mo which madded in the laſt uprore) ſhall they dare to embrace their hands in a Tribunes and Centurions bloud? ruſh into their Empe rours pavillion? you did indeed the fame for my fake: but yet in the dark, in ſuch confuſion, occasion might also have ſerved against me. If Vitellius and his adhe rents had ſeſe the ſoldierſ had choice to dispose our minds as they ſeſe, what else would they ſe with ſeſtion and diſcord? that the ſouldier ſhould not ſe the Centurion, the Centurion his Tribune, foot-men and horse confusedly ſhould run to their ruine. Surely fellow ſouldierſ by duly obeying, not curiously ſcanning the Captains comman dments, is all good ſouldier and militarie matters maintained: and that army in danger is alwaies moſt valiant, which before the danger is moft quiet of all. Be you only well armed, and valiant minded, to advise and direct your valour leave that to me. The fault was of ſe: the punishment ſhall be only of two: contend you the reſt, to abolifh and raze out of memory that difmall nights work: such bloody words
words against the Senate, let never any army once dare to speak. The head of the Empire, the ornament of all Provinces, no not the very Germans themselves whom Vitellius specially raiseth against us, durst ever have demanded to death: and shall the children of Italy then, and the true Roman race require to murder that honourable order, through whose glorious brightneffe we dim and disgrace the obscure bafeneffe of Vitellius faction? Vitellius hath indeed some Countries at commandment, he hath a certain counterfaite of an Army: but the Senate is of our side; and therefore the State is of our side, Tradours of theirs. What? do you think this goodly faire City consisteth in houses and stones put together? these are dumbe and dead things, they may decay, they may be repaired again, 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 appropriation ordaine and institute this worthye assembly, from the Kings to the Princes never discontinued: then as we have taken it from our progenitors, to let us deliver it to our succelfours. The Senat is the seminarie of Princes, and you of the Senat. The Oration thus framed to please the fouldiers minds, and the moderate severity used withall (for only on two juſticewas done) were gratefully accepted, and they for the present compos'd, which hardly could have been dueſely corrected. Yet was not the City throughly quiet: weapons clafhed, and to shew it seemed a season of war; the fouldiers in common ceasing to trollble, but diſperſed in houses in diſguised apparell, maligning all those whom nobilitie or wealth, or some other speciall excellencie had made the matter of talk.
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By the Gods approbation, Augustus. That is, addicentiæ vivus. For although neither Livy nor Dionysius make any mention of any such ceremony observed in the choice of the Senat, yet seeing we findeth equium conventus were by Romulus Augurate forpe, that the City was founded and named capitum in inaugurandum templi, the Aventin by Remus, the Palatin by Romulus (Livius lib. 1. although Tullus placeth them otherwise), seeing that Romulus in the first granted, that the Senate was elected, that it might be elected, and that the Senate was elected (C. I. 29): Thence, Brought up this custom for all posterity that they should not take upon them neither the kingdom, nor any other office, except first the gods, per auspicia, gave their approbation: we may probably conjecture that it was no mistimed in a case of so great importance, as was the choice of a council of State. Surely after Attius Navius had cut with a razor a wheedone in Tarsus, Priscus time, Livy writeth that the Augurall discipline grew daily in reputation.

XIX. Rome full of jealousies; the difficulty that was to carry a mans self even in the City and Senate.

It was also supposed by many, that some of Vitellius men were come to the city to spie out and learn how the sides were affected: whereupon all grew full of jealousies, and scarce were the secret Clofets free from feare: and abroad worst of all, where according to the occurrences which came, they turned, and shaped courage and countenance, fearing to seeme, when matters went doubtfull, distrustful; or when they went well, not enough to rejoice: specially in Senate, there was the hardnesse indeed to beare a mans selfe eveny in so nice and tickish a cafe: silence would be continued for contumacy, free speech had quickly in jealousie, and fluttering Otho would soone finneth out, having paft from private estate, and used the trade so lately himselfe. Wherefore they were forced to toffe and turn in and out their sentences, to wret them this way and that, calling Vitellius parricide and traitor, the wiser sort spending upon him some few ordinary railing terms, some touching him nearer with viler matters, and matters of truth; but then above all times, when for the great noife they least could be heard, or when otherwise the most spake at once, or elie by tumultuous heaping of words confounding their own disorderly tale.

XX. Certain prodigious things which happened in Italy and Rome before the warre.

Moreover divers miracles vouch'd by sundry persons terrifyed the minde of men. In the entrie of the Capitoll the reines of the Coach whereon the image of Victoria stood were let slip: out of Junoes cell startled up a ghost taller then any man: the image of Julius of sacred memory in the Island of Tiber turned it selfe from the West to the East in a day which was cleare and without any earth-quake: in Tuscanie an Ox spake: ugly monsters were born of beasts, and many other like prodigious things were reported by the old world observed even in peace, but now not talkt on, but in times of danger. But the principal terror for the time to come joyned with present damage was the sudden swelling of Tiber, which waxing hugely, brake down the Sublician bridge, and by the ruines of it being dammed, reculing again, overflowed not only the low and plaine places of Rome, but thosell also which seemed safe from such casualties. Many were carried away as they walkt in the streets, mae intercepted in shops and lodgings: a dearth of victualls, and no wayes of winning, bred a famine among the poore people, the foundations of the iles, which the water by washing against them had weaken'd, after the River returned, became ruinous: and affon as that perill was overpast, the stopping by casuall, or natural causes, of Campus Martius and the Fam-
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 having hallowed the City, consulting how to manage the warre, and seeing the Penine and Cottian Alpes, and the other passages of France stopped by Vitellius armies, determined to invade Gallia Narbonensis with a strong Navy and sure to his side: for he had enrolled for Legionary foildiers the remnant of those which were slain at the Milvian bridge, whom Galba had cruelly laid in prison; and the rest of their fellows conceived thereby good hope of honourable service hereafter. Which the Navy he shipped City-cohorts, and many Guard foildiers, for a strength and support to the army, and for a councell and guard to the Generals. The general charge of this voyage was committed to Antonius Novellius, and Suedius Clemens (* which had been chiefes Centurions) and Emilius Pacensis, to whom Otho had restored his Tribune-ship, which Galba had taken away: Ofsus the freed-man was admiral of the voyage, being willing to watch how loyally honester men behaved themselves. Of the Foot-men and Horse: Suetonius Paullinus, Marius Celsus, and Annius Gallus were appointed Governors: but his special affiance was in Licius Proculus Captain of the Guard, who being a man serviceable enough in City foildtry, but raw in the field, cavilling and carping at the grave authority of Paullinus, the courageous quickness of Celsus, the considerate discreetness of Gallus, as each was in vertue, by lewdness and craft (a matter not uneafe) bare it away from good men, and modest. About the same time Cornelius Dolabella was confined to Aquinun, without either trait or close keeping, for no matter of crime, but only as an eye-fore for his ancient house and kinsman with Galba. Then Otho commanded many of the Magistrates, and a great part of those which had been Consuls, to be in a readinesse for the voyage, not as to employ them in any charge in the war, but to accompany him only: among other Lucius Vitellius also in like fort with the rest, neither as brother of an Emperor, nor as brother of an enemy. Hereupon the cares of the City revived: no state was void of feare or of danger: the chiefe of the Senat weak for age, and with long rest unfruitful, the Nobility slothfull, and having forgotten the warres; the Gentlemen ignorant in service: the more they all fought to cover and hide it, the more they in sight bewrayed their feare. On the other side some upon a foolish vain glory bought them brave armour and goodly great horses; some riotous provision for banquets and allurements of lufts, as instruments of warre: the wiser fort were wo to see the quietnesse of the Weale-publick perturbed: the witlesse, and not able to se into sequels, were put up with vaine hope: and many a good man bankrupt in peace, now in the troubles shewed most gallant, then being safest, when the flate was unsafest. In the common people, who for their huge greatnes taketh no care of publick affairs, began now to feele by little and little the smarts of the warre, perceiving the money was turned all to the foildiers use, and viciuals to grow more dear in the market, which evills in Vindex commotion had nothing wonne the Commons for bare: the city was then out of danger, and the warre in the Province, which being fought between the Legions and them of France might feeme in a fort externall and forrein. For since the time that D. Augustus ordered the Empire, the people of Rome fought a farre off: the care and the credit belonged to one: under Tiberius and Caesare men feared alone the mifferies of peace: Scribonianus attempts
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tempts against Claudius were begun and daft in a moment: Nero was rather by
ewes, and by rumours, then by force of arms cast out of state: but now the Legi-
ons, the Navies, and that which sedome elfe had been seen, the Guard and City-
fouldier were brought to the field; the Eaf, and the Weft, and whatfoever was on
both sides behind; matter for a long war, if other Captaines had warred. Some
perwaded Otho, as he was now ready to march, to stay yet a while, making a cre-
tle that the holy shields called Ancilia were as yet not laied up againe: but he could
not abide to hear of delaiws, which had been, he said, Neros destruction; and
Cacina having already passe the Alpes called him forward. The fourteenth of
March commending the Common-wealth to the Lords in Senate, he granted to
the persons restored from exile thereſidue of Neros confiſcations, ſuch as were not
as yect come to his Cofer: a gift most reasonable and in ſhe very great, but ine-
eft riotleſse by reaſon of the haſty exaction. By and by assembling the people he
magnified the majesty of the City, the conſent of the Senate and people of Rome
in favour of his fide, modestly touching the contrary faſtion, and blaming the Le-
gions rather for ignoſance, then raſhneſſe, without any mention at all of Vitellius;
whether it was of his own temperatenesſe, or that elfe he which penned the Orati-
on fearing the worſt, did of purpoſe forbeare to reveile: for as in military ma-
ters he followed the adviſe of Suetonius Paullinus and Marius Celfus, so in civill he
was thought to use Galerius Trachalus wiſedome: and some there were, which would
feem to know the manner of phrase, notorious by reaſon of his ſoſten pleading, large
and founding, and framed to fill the eares of the people. The Commons after their
flattering faſtion received the speech with cries and acclamations without either
measure or truth, contending to passe one another in applauſe and wiſhes, as if it
had been to Cæsar the Dictator, or the Emperor Augustus; neither for feare nor
for love, but onely upon a delight in servility (*as in private families every man
provoked by some private cauſe, no man regarding the publick diſhonour; *Otho
departing away, commended the quieteſt state of the City, and cares of the Empe-
to Salvius Titianus his brother.

* Alluſions of luffe, &c.] Juvenal Satyra ſecondawriteth, that Otho himſelfe inter ſtrument abellicarried a
certain looking-glaſſe,
of Cornelius Tacitus.
Now fortune in a contrary coast of the world prepared cause, and laid the foundation for a new Empire: which put up in sundry regions, and according to the different government, became acceptable or hateful to the state, and to the Princes themselves prosperous, or pernicious. Titus Vespasianus being sent by his father from Jewry, before Galba was slain, gave forth, as cause of his voyage the doing of duty to the new Prince, and suing for office, whereunto he was now by his yeers enabled and ripe; but the common fort, ready to make and devise, had cast abroad, that he was sent for to be declared successor. The age of Galba and lack of issue, and that intemperate humor of the city, to name many till one be appointed, gave occasion and ministrd matter to the speech: the towadlines of Titus increas the report, as being a person capable of any dignity were it never so great: the comelineffe also of his countenance with a certain majesty, the prosperous proceedings of his father in Jewry, prophecies and oracles; and lastly, when as the minds of men were once inclined to believe, even common accidents were reputed ominous, and helped to further the same. At Corinth a City of Achaia he received certain advertisement, that Galba was slain, and some also were there who assured that Vitellius was in arms, and doubtlesse would proceed to make warre. Whereupon being perplexed in minde, calling some few of his friends, he weigheth the reason on both sides in couneff: if he should proceed in his journey to Rome it were but a thanklesse office, being first undertaken to honor another; and beside he should remaine as an hostage to Vitellius or Otho: if return back againe, the winner without question would be offended, but yet in some tolerable sort, seeing the victory as yet rested uncertain, and the father afterward applying himself to the side, the fonne would finde an easie excuse: or if his father took upon him the state, then care not to offend were to be forgotten, where open hostility must be proclaimed. With these and the like discourses was Titus distressed between scare and hope, till hope at the length prevailed. Some men supposed the vehement love he bare to Berenice the Queene did alter his course: and in truth his youthly affections were fetted somewhat that way, notwithstanding in no such degree, that it was any hinderance to his honorable actions: his youthfull yeares he past in pleasures licentiouſly, of better behaviour Emperour then Emperours fonne. So coasting along by Achaia and Asia thorow the seas on the left hand, he sailed to Rhodes and Cyprus, and thence by the maine sea into Syria. Touching at Cyprus he had a deſire to go visit the the temple of Venus at Paphos, so much spoken of both there and abroad. It shall not be long summarily to set down the beginning of that devotion, the fire of the temple, and shape of the godfesse: for she is not elsewhere portrayed so. The ancient tradition is, that the temple was founded by King Aecias, which...
of Cornelius Tacitus.

which some affirm is the name of the goddesse: a latter opinion holdeth, that King Cinaras did consecrate the Temple, and that the goddesse, being conceived of the sea, arrived there: but the skill and art of Haruspice was borrowed abroad, brought in by Thamyras the Cilician; and so it was accorded between them, that the government of the ceremonies should belong equally to the posteritie of both families: anon it seemed absurd, that the bloud royall should not have any prerogative above the forraigne, whereupon the strangers gave place in the icenie, which they themselves had induced; and so the Priest-hood remained alone in Cinarases.

Beasts for sacrifice, as every man liked to vow, only of the male kinde were chosen: the fibres of Kids are esteemed of certaine credit: to pour bloud on the altar is not permitted: prayers and pure fire are the incense for the Altars, which are not within any covert, and yet never wet with the weather. The Image of the goddesse is not of human shape, but a figure rising continually round, from a larger bottome to a small top, in a conical fashion: the reason thereof is not knowne.

When Titus had viewed the riches of the place, the offerings and liberalities of Prince, and what else ever the Greeke Nation, delighting in antiquity, fabulously fathereth upon times out of mind, he proposed demand first as touching his voyage by sea: and when it was answerd, that the way was open and passage prosperous, then causing many beasts to be sacrificed, he inquired covertly concerning himselfe. Softratus (for so was the name of the Priest) seeing the intrailes fortunate and agreeing, and perceiving the goddesse to give assent to his great designs, at that present time made a short and ordinary answer, and anon requiring a secrete conference, he opened to him his whole fortune to come. Thus Titus increased in courage, returned againe to his father, bringing great comfort to the minds of the Armies, and Provinces that were suspened and doubtfull. Vespasian had vanquished the Jews, and made in manner an end of the war, it onely remained to oppugne Jerusalem, an enterprise of difficulty and hardnesse, more through the nature of the people, and the obstinate perfisting in their superstition, then for any strength or ability they had to bear out the siege. Vespasian, as before we have said, had three Legions trained in war, and Mutianus foure governed in peace, from whom notwithstanding emulation, and the glory of the army adjoyning, drove away floth and as the one thorough labour with danger grew stronger and more able of body, so the other became more lusty and fresh by rest undisturbed, and peaceable labour: both had Auxiliary Cohorts and wings, both Fleets and Kings at commandement, both renowned alike upon causes unlike: Vespasian a vigilant Warrior, marching the foremost, choosing places for commodious encamping, night and day giving our direction and order where it was needfull, and the cafe so requiring manfully fighting with hand; of diet not dainty, apparelled as the common soldier, or not much otherwise; in all respects, set avarice aside, comparable to the commanders of ancient times: Mutianus contrariwise excessive in wealth and expences, in all things exceeding the measure of private estate; in speech the abler man, very expert in the direction and foresight of civil affaires: a well sorted medley of Princely qualities, if taking away the vices of both, the vertues alone were laid together. But the one being Lieutenant of Jewry, the other of Syria, countries confining, through emulation and envy certaine jealousies were between them: notwithstanding upon Neroes decease, they layed grudges aside, and conferred counsels in common, first by friends interposed, then by mediation of Titus, the principall assurance of true reconciliation: who being a person by nature and art framed to winde in with Mutianus also, induced them both to surcease from such hurtfull contentions, with cons

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fideration of their common utility: the Tribunes, Centurions, and common soldier, by labor or licence, by virtues or pleasures, according to their several inclinations, were drawn to the party. Before Titus coming both the Armies had sworn allegiance to Otho, the news of his being in State, as the custom is in such great matters, being brought in great post, and civil wars ripening by leisure, into which the East, that had a long time beene quiet and peaceable, the first of all began for to enter. For in time past the moft mightie and poffiant civil wars, beginning in Italy and Gallia, were undertaken with the power and strength of the West; and they which maintained them in the East, as Pompey, Caesar, Brutus, Antonius, ended alas! unequally, and Syria and Jewry more often heard tell of; then was any Caesars, the Legions had never mutined, onely sometimes were led out to brave the Parthian, spending or not alwaies alike: and during the lat civil war, when the world was shaken elwhere, among them was assured tranquillitie; then faith toward Galba. But after it was publicly knowne, that Otho and Vitellius went about with impious armes to prey upon the Romane estate, the soldiery began to storme, that others received the favors of Princes, and they served continually as slaves. From thence they grew to consideration of their owne forces: seven Legions they saw at hand, and two Provinces, Syria, and Jewry, with a huge multitude of Aide-soldiers: then Egypt adjoining with two Legions, and on the other side Cappadocia and Pontus, and the strength which lay encamped against the Armenians: Asia and the rest of the Provinces, plentiful of money, and of men not unfurnished: all the lands of that sea, and the sea it selfe shut up and yeelding security in the meane seafon to prepare for the war. The forwardnesse of the soldiery was not unknown to the Generals: nevertheless it was thought expedient to attend the issue of the other war then being on foot, fith doublefle mutuall jelousies, between the conquering and conquered party, would never suffer any found and perfect intelligence between them: neither mattered it much whom fortune should favour, Vitellius or Otho: even singular commanders by prosperitie would grow insolent, much leffe might good proofe be expected of thefe, whom discord, sluggishneffe and riot would ruine: whereof the war would overthrow the one, and the victory the other, both of them through their owne vices and faults. So till occasion should serve, the open taking of armes was deferred by Vespasian and Murianus, having entred but lately into these communications, whereas the rest had conferred therof long before; the better part upon love to the common-wealth, the rest, some allure with the sweetnesse of spoile, some prickd thereto by reason of their doubtfull and decayed estate at home: so the good and the bad, upon causes unlike, with like affection ardently all desired the warre.

1 By the maine sea, Audemariusibus [statius], per alium, in opposition to littus or onem legre, sea prosernebi. So that the meaning of the place is, that Titus from Corinth to Cyprus went along by the coast, and from Cyprus into Syria by the maine sea.
2 The Temple of Venus at Paphos] Strabo, lib. 14. This temple was first built by Theseus the son of Jacaeus, who built also the constable's temple in Paphos. Josephus de bello judaico, cap. 2. But if this is not Paphos, as about eleven miles from the sea, there is an harbour for ships, and an ancient temple of Venus, surnamed of the place Paphia. Homerus Odyss. 4. 4. Praiers and pure fire] If it were an unbloody sacrifice, as by these words it should seeme, it may reasonably be
of Cornelius Tacitus.

be doubted wherefore mention is made before of the choice of beasts, of the fibres of Kids, and anon Cassi complanibus deflus. But perhaps there might be bloody sacrifices before the Altar, although upon in none but unbloody

5 A figure rising continually around]. The figure which Tacitus describeth is a Conus. Maximus Titus expresses it magnificum, which is somewhat different in the Brevity of terms. His words be these, obiecta. M. Titus, sc. Conus. Some others, 31. 3. sed, etc. Others say, non sed, etc. And many more, 31. 3. magnum, etc. Patricius also, pater, etc. And none of these shall be shown to have consisted in a figure, verum exstantia. That is, His 38. discourse. The Celtæ worship Jupiter: this Image with them is nothing but an high Oike. The Arabians adore, but whom I know not; the image which I saw amongst them is a square stone. In Paphos Venus hath the chiefest honour, howbeit her image you can liken unto nothing so well as to a white Pyramis, or rather a triangular Pyramis: or peradventure it was written ava, id est, Ceres. 3. 8. 4. 7. 5. 6. Then is, The leaders and soldiers banded themselves together, and openly sought to make a change furiously crying; These soldiers which live in Rome at their ease, which never could abide to hear so much as the rumour of war, chuse whom they list to the Empire, and upon hope of gain pronounce Princes. Whereas they who had passed through many pains, and were now waxen old under their Helmets, must yield that authority to other, and the having in their own Empire a main firet of all other for government: 

Bout the same time a false alarme was given to Achaia and Asia, as if Nero were approaching: for the report going diversely concerning his death, many gave out untruly that he was alive, and many believed it. The adventures and attempts of the rest of those counterfaits we shall hereafter declare, in the proceffe of this work. Now at that time a bond-man of Pontus, or as others have written, a libertine of Italy, skilfull in instrument and voice, and thereupon, beside some resemblance in countenance, being more fit to deceive, adjoyning unto him certaine fugitive and beggarly vagabond persons induced by great promises, taked the Sea: and being by violence of weather driven into the Isle of Cythnus, he associated to him certaine fouldiers which passe that way out of the East; commanding the rest to be insane which refused; and spoiling the Merchants armed those of the slaves which seemed most puissant of body. Moreover he assayed by fundry devices to practise the Centurion Sifenna, who carried in the name of the Syrian Army to the soldiers of the Guard, Right-Hands in token of concord; until such time as Sifenna for fear, and suspecting violence, left the Island and fled secretly away. Thereupon the terror was dispersed abroad, and the matter growing famous, many lent their ears willingly thereto, upon desire of change, and dislike of the present. Thus reputation daily growing to the cause, it was by a matter of meer chance in due order overthrown. Galba had granted the government of the Provinces of Galatia and Pamphylia to Calpurnius Asprenas: to wait him were allotted two Gallies out of the Navy at Misenum, with which he arrived at the Isle of Cythnus. Upon his arrivall the Masters of the Gallies were summoned to come unto Nero: who at their coming composing himselfe to heaviness, and requiring, as their late master at his fouldiers hands, their faithfull assistance and service, prayed them to set him a land in Syria or Egypt. The Masters, partly perswaded, or else fraudulently, answered that first they would take with the fouldiers, and so having prepared their minds would returne: but the whole was truly reported to Asprenas, by whose perswasion his ship was forced and taken, and he, whatsoever he were, 

II. A counterfait Nero oppressed in the Isle of Cythnus.
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III. Annius Fauſtus, after much ado and some fierce in the Senate, condemned of promoting.

N a difsentious state, and through, the often changings of Princes, waving betweene licence and liberty, even small matters were not shut up, without great ado, Vibius Crispus, a man for money, might, and wit, accounted rather among the great men then the good, called to his anſwer in Senate Annius Fauſtus a Gentleman, who had made profession in Neroes time of accusing; for immediately upon the election of Galba the Senatours had ordered, that the caufes of the accusers should be heard and examined; an order diversly conſtru'd and drawne, and as againſt a weake defendant in force, fo againſt a mighty too weake. Befide Crispus employed the terror of his greatneſſe, and the uttermoſt of his might, particularly to overthow him, as the accuſer of his brother, and had drawne a great part of the Senat into that opinion, to require him to be executed, being neither defended nor heard: contrarily others favouring the defendant, so much the more because the plaintiffe seemed too mighty, were of opinion, that a time should be granted, 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 fo the hearing of the matter was some few daies put over: but in the end Fauſtus was condemned, albeit not with the generall affent of all parts that his lowd conditions deferved: some men disliking, not that the crime was so punished, but that it was done at his fuit, *whom they well remembred to have exercized himselfe the fame profession with gaine.

III. The power of Otho by land.

The beginning of the war was prosperous on Othoes fide. For at his commandement the Legions marched out of Dalmatia and Pannonia, being in number foure, out of which two thousand men were sent before, the Legions followed after with competent journeys, the feventh lately gathered by Galba, the rest ancient, the eleventa and thirteenth, and the fourteenth greatly renowned for their service in repreſſing *the Britifh rebellion; and Nero had increaſed their glory, chufing them out as the most speciall men: whereupon they remained long faithfull to Nero, and were great favourers of Othoes proceedings. But thofe Legions the more strength and forces they carried with them, the more confident they were, and consequently the flower in coming forward: the Auxiliarie Cohorts and Wings came before, the corps of the Legions followed after. Moreover the city it felſe furnished good store of foildiers: five Praetorian coheretts, and certain Coronets of horſemen, the firſt Legion, and befide two thousand "Fencers", a base supply, but in civil wars uſed even by severe commanders. Annius Gallus with Veltricius Spurinna were appointed to lead this power, and fent beforehand to put themselves in poſſeffion of the banckes of the Po: becaufc their firſt determination had failed, seeing Cæcina had already paſſed the Alpes, whom they hoped might have beene kept within Gallia. Upon Othoes perfon a choice company of "Spearemen attended, accompanied with the reft of the Praetorian Cohorts, and the old foildiers of the Guard, befide an excesſive number of thoſe which
which had served at sea. His voyage was with diligence and speed, as appertained, not wastefully spent in riot and pleasure: himselfe with his iron brigantine marching before the ensignes on foot, not decked, nor trimmed, but fouldier-like, and unlike the name that went of him.

1. The beginning of the warre] In declaring of this great and important action betweene Vitellius and Otho, I finde Tacitus, aitce in my conceit, much interioer to himselfe otherwise; omitting many necessary circumstances, confounding things together, affirming contradicries in appearance, and generally leaving his Reader not sufficiently furnished, as in history to be looked for. As in the circumstances of Otho the principall person, whole places and foot-steps were omitted. Tacitus brought him out of the City accompanied in a manner with all the Senate, toward the latter end of March, and as we found by collection out of (a) other Writers upon the fift and sixteenth day. Then here shewing his fouldier-like manner of marching before his soldiers on foot, in the end he befortheem and his company no where: whereas indeed the Senate was left at Mancini, and himselfe marched toward the enemy, as for a Brixellum a city upon the Po, and there sending out his Captains stayed behind, as it appeared in Plutarch; and Tacitus else where circumstances, in main opinion, not so lightly to have been pasted over. From Brixellum, Catili Plutarch, were dispatched away, Ceilus, Paulinus, Gallus, and Spurinna. Tacitus feemeth to say, that Gallus and Spurinna were dispatched at Rome, and sent before hand ad (b) accordante Padiri, which it were to mean the South-side of the Po, & so to stay the Vietellianites at left from pulling the river, since they could not stop them in the mountains, a few being able to keep such a passage against a great army, it had good reason. But Gallus did not foot-service. If to put himselfe in possession of both sides of the Po, and to have the whole river at commandment, how could he with a few withstand Carcinases whole army, having no advantage of the place? Now to the leading of Gallus and Spurinna, from what place soever, as it appeareth in Plutarch and Tacitus sent before, from what place soever, ad occurrentes Po Padiri, Tacitus affigneth five Praetorian Cohorts, equitum vexilla, legio prima Adiutrix, and two thousand gladiatores: in the proceeding of the warre there has been no charge at all signified them, and to say the truth, I cannot see any great maffe of men they could have, leaving Otho sufficiently guarded: may they not be forsooth, as they once named. By way of probable conjecture we may suppose, that Proculus, as being Captain of the Guard, stayed at Brixellum, and attended upon Otho perdon. But Ceilus and Paulinus are not named before in the battell ad Caflorina. Where suddenly within twelve miles of Cremona they appear, and not farre from Brixellum (where Gallus was left) never mentioned before, besides many other with prima legio, and their leading, being the peculiar charge of Gallus. So that to raigne at that which was our Authors fault, not to let downe plainlye, we may imagine, that Paulinus & Ceilus were sent afterward from Brixellum to the camp at Bebracium, either to take ye sent charge with Gallus, or else charge in his place, as is more likely, and that thereupon Gallus withdrew himselfe, peradventure to recover his fall mentioned. A hint, seeing there is no mention of him in the action ad Caflorina: and in an action which posseth at Brixellum, we shall finde him by and by, where notwithstanding Tacitus left him now whereas Tacitus upon not professing a little skirmish of the gladiatoris against the Vietellianites, maketh Otho to say for his brother Titius, whom he had left at Rome, to make him Lieutenant General, Plutarch with greater reason and probability, faith it was done after the battell ad Caflorina, upon dislike of Paulinus flow proceeding; and that Proculus Captain of the Guard was sent withall but when they came to Bebracium I cannot determine, Now to the leading of Otho’s three Captains, Ceilus, Paulinus and Proculus were present, and Gallus absent: here Tacitus saith all along, and Plutarch releveth us shewing that Otho removed from Brixellum to Bebracium, to consult with his Captains of the manner of proceeding in the warre. Thus much of Otho and his Captains, it followeth of their power, which was of two forts, brought from Rome and lent for from abroad. From Rome of five forts, 1 Quinque Praetorian cohorstes: 2 Equitum vexilla: 3 legio prima Adiutrix: 4 Gladiatores: 5 Cetera Pretorianae cohorstes and 6 Clasii. With Gallus and Spurinna, 1 Quinque Praetorian cohorstes: wherof three were with Spurinna in Placentia, the other two belike with Gallus: 2 Clasii, one with number: 3 legio prima Adiutrix Clasii ex religione Lomea, Gallia, and 3 Clasii, a thousand gladiatores: in the case of Placentia we finde mention of a thousand vexillaris, whether differing from all these, or portion of any, I know not. Then in Otho’s traine Speculum te faeo corpore, as I think, 1 Ceraro Praetorian cohorstes, 2 Cetera Pretorianae cohorstes, besides the five sent with Gallus: and yet many Praetorian foudiers were sent with the Navy into Narbonenites, so that surely all the rest were not here. Clasici from whence forever they came, had ministered us, and will minister many men. Seven thousand were slain at Calba and pontes Julia, and the rest declinates, religiosa legio prima legio Adiutrix was composed. In the fleet to Narbon there served also many as fouldiers. Here we have clasici versus maritimum: with Otho a thousand Clasici into Placentia ex religione Lomea, Gallia, and three thousand Gladiatores: which by all circumstinces were none of this company. And Turullius Cerialis had many Clasici but whence he had them, and how he became their Captaine is not set downe. And besides all these we have in the third book another whole Legion clasici differing from prima Adiutrix, which then was in Spaine. The power sent for by Otho from abroad was out of Illyricum onely, where at that present were seven Legions, eo quinque in Dalmatia, Vindensia Claudiana & quartadecima Gemina: two in Pannonia; septima Galbiana, and tertadecima Gemina: in Media three, tertia Gallica, septima Claudiana, and octava Augusta, as it is declared elsewhere. Now all these being sent for by Otho, there marched at Otho’s commandemcnt, Gallus Tacitus, the
Legions of Dalmatia and Pannonia, which is manifestly defuctive, for the Median 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 commandment marched, and came on: but who were come before the great battell at Bebracium, and who not, is in my opinion a question inexplicable, Tacitus words receiving to many oppositions, and implying to 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 Masia, absolutely were the left in all military actions of this war. Tacit. lib. 3. 

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Chapter 6.

The Medians and Pannonians, on their march to Italy, were supplied by Otho with their forces, but not supplies. The Medians and Pannonians, by their late communications, were supplied with provisions for their march to Italy, but not supplies.

Chapter 7.

The Medians and Pannonians, by the march of their forces, were supplied with their supplies, but not supplies. The Medians and Pannonians, by the march of their forces, were supplied with their supplies, but not supplies.

Chapter 8.

The Medians and Pannonians, by the march of their forces, were supplied with their supplies, but not supplies. The Medians and Pannonians, by the march of their forces, were supplied with their supplies, but not supplies.

Chapter 9.

The Medians and Pannonians, by the march of their forces, were supplied with their supplies, but not supplies. The Medians and Pannonians, by the march of their forces, were supplied with their supplies, but not supplies.

Chapter 10.

The Medians and Pannonians, by the march of their forces, were supplied with their supplies, but not supplies. The Medians and Pannonians, by the march of their forces, were supplied with their supplies, but not supplies.

Chapter 11.

The Medians and Pannonians, by the march of their forces, were supplied with their supplies, but not supplies. The Medians and Pannonians, by the march of their forces, were supplied with their supplies, but not supplies.

Chapter 12.

The Medians and Pannonians, by the march of their forces, were supplied with their supplies, but not supplies. The Medians and Pannonians, by the march of their forces, were supplied with their supplies, but not supplies.
of Cornelius Tacitus.

A base supply, being bondslaves of the worst sort, and besides the dishonourableness of the thing Tacitus wrote their unsuitableness to service, arqueas conscia culloco gladiatores ad praemia servusque mulieribus, &e., and yet we find, that Spartacus with a few of his companions breaking out of their School put Pretors and Consuls to flight, and troubled the whole Roman state in the greatest height. And P. Rutilius being Consul, as Valerius Maximus reports in his second book, sent for certain Masters of fence out of the Schoole of C. Aurelius Scaurus, and so freight them to teach his foot-soldiers victi et atque referendi ilias sibi dedicat, rationem legiones ingeniosa, Vindice peradventure it be true, that such mean have better cunning then valour.

V. The action of Otho’s Fleet.

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 invading the Province of Narbon, Suetius Clemens, Antonius Novellus, and Amilicus Pacensis were appointed Captains by Otho; but Pacensis was overcome to govern the licentious foot-soldiers; Antonius Novellus had no reputation; Suetius 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 Countrey and foile: as if it had beene foraine 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 war. Marius Maturus the Procurator was President of the sea-Alpes at that time, who mustering the Countrey, which yielded store of serviceable men, purposed to withstand the Othonians from entering into his government; but at the first push these Mountaine people were flaine, and dispersed, as being assembled at adventures, without knowledge of Campe or of Captaine, and therefore reposing no honour in the victory, nor shame in the flight. The foot-soldiers of Otho being exasperated with that battell, wreaked their anger upon the free towne of Albium Tremeleum; for in the late conflict they had gotten no booty: the Pezants were beggerly, their Armour not worth the taking up; and beside, being swift of foot, and skilfull in the Countrey, they could not be taken: but the lack of the poore innocent towne pated the reckoning, and contented the covetous foot-soldier. The odiousnesse of which fact was greatly increas’d by a notable example, which happened there of a Ligurian woman: who having hid her fonne, the foot-soldiers supposing she had hid her money with all, and thereupon by torture examining her, where she had hid him, shewing her belly answered that there he was hid; neither could she by any manner of torment afterward, or death at the length, be induc’d to change that worthy answer.

VI. Certaine skirmishes betweene the Othonians and Vitellia-nis in Gallia Norbonensis.

Now word was brought in haste and great feare to Fabius Valens, that the fleet of Otho lay hovering & ready to asaile the Province of Narbon, which had fided it selfe and sworn to Vitellius; and the Colonies sent their Embassador to him, desiring helpe and assistance. Whereupon he dispatch near away to that service two cohorts of Tungrians, foure:* troupes of horsemen, and the whole wing of the Treveri with Julius Classicus their Captain: part of which power was retained.
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retained for defence of the Colony of Forum Julii, left if all were imployed in the land-service, the Fleet finding free passage by sea should suddenly surprize the city: twelve troupes of horse-men, and the choice of the cohorts, went against the enemy, beside a cohort of Ligurians being the Aide anciently belonging to that place, and five hundred Pannonians, which were not as yet marshalled in Companies. Neither was it long ere they met together, * the battell on both sides standing thus. Part of the Mariners with Pezants among were placed above in the hills, which were by the Guard-souldiers: fast by them in the sea it selfe stood the Fleet prepared to fight, turning against the enemy a terrible and threatening front. The Vitellianiats, whose strength consisted in horse rather then foot, placed their horsemen against the Guard-souldier, and behind the horse the cohorts in thicker and close ranks, marshalling the Pannonians in the hills adjoyning. The troupes of the Treveri charged unadvisedly, which charge the old souldier received with courage: and with all the Pezants in flanck gauled them with stones, men fit enough for that kind of service, & such as being mingled with souldiers, though otherwise daftards, yet now in the victory dared as far as the best. As the Vitellianiats were thus discompos'd, a greater discomfort was added by the Fleet, which in the mean season fetching about affailed their backs as they fought: so being inclosed on every side they had all beene doublely destroyed, had not the darkness of the night favoured their flight, withholding the winners from following the chace. The Vitellianiats, albeit they had lost a battell, would not be contented: but sending for new supply gave a fresh assault upon the enemy, which by reason of the former success was growne secure and sleghe vigilant, flew the watch, entered the trenches, and gave the alarme to the ships; till such time as the fear, which at first is most terrible, setting by little and little, the Othonians drew themselves in safety to a hill there adjoyning, and then charged courageously upon them. Much blood was there shed, and the Captaine of the Tungrian Cohorts, having long maintained the skirmish, were forced at length to yeeld up their lives: even to Othoes men the victory cost blood, of whom divers unadvisedly following were intercepted by the horsemen turning upon them. And so, as if a mutuall suspension of armes had been concluded upon, with covenant on the one side that the Fleet, on the other that the horsemens should not attempt any sudden invasion, the Vitellianiats retired to Antipolis a free-towne of Gallia Narbonensis, the Othonians to Albingaunum a Colony of Liguria interior.

1 The battell on both sides] In this conflict we have of Othoes side mention distinctly of Classic, Pagan, Pratlonian, and the Navy. For Vitellius of twelve Turmæ of Horse-men, a cohort of Ligurians the choice of the two Tungrian Cohorts, five hundred Pannonians, and a little afterward Alpins beside: unless peradventure it should read Alpini in both places, and meanstheance of the Ligures for what Pannonians should do here I cannot imagine, or if it were true, yet being strange, as the last Tactius should have done well to have told us how they came thither.

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

The reputation of Othoes victorious Fleet easily held Corsica, Sardinia, and the rest of the Ilands thereabout in Othoes obedience. But Corsica almost was ruined by the rashnesse of Decimus Pacarius the Procurator, who entred into an action, which in so great a preparation for warre, could nothing availe to effecting the Principal purpofe, and yet served well enough to work his destruction.
of Corneliu Tacitus.

For upon hatred against Otho, he determined with the strength of the Iland, to aid Vitellius; an aid vaine and to no purpose even if it had succeeded. Whereupon calling the principal men of the Iland, he declareth his meaning, and commandeth Claudius Phirrhicus master of the Gallies there, and Quintius Curtus a gentleman of Rome, to be flaine, who opposed themselves against his proceedings: by the death of whom the rest that were present being terrified, ware allegiance to Vitellius, and consequentely the inferiour fort partly upon ignorance, and partly to beare them company which did it for feare. But when his Pacarius began to take munter, to trie those rude people in training & other military duties, they waxing weary of that unwonted labor fell to recount their own weaknesse: that it was but an Iland, which they inhabited: that Germany and the Legionary power was farre off: and that even they were wafted and spoiled by the Fleete, whom both Cohorts and Wings did prote&. Whereupon their mindes suddenly fell away, and fo they conpired against him, not by way of open rebellion, but by privy attempt against his person. For which purpose chusing 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, carried the heads of them, as of Traitors, to Otho: by whom notwithstanding they were not rewarded, as also not punished by Vitellius, in so 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 Italy before Cacinaes entry.

Now the Syllan wing, as before we have shewed, had opened the passage into Italy, and drawne the war over the mountains, the Countrey favouring not Otho, neither yet upon any speciall fancy to Vitellius; but as men whom long peace had broken to all kinde of slavery, they were easily possed by the first comer, 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 Italy, was held by Vitellius fouldiers: for the Cohorts which Cacina had sent before him were now already come in. At Cremona a cohort of Panonians was taken, and betweene Placentia and Ticinum an hundred horſe intercepted, and a thousand sea-fouldiers: by which succeffe Vitellius men being animated could now not be stopped by bank nor by river. Moreover the inhabitants of Batavia and beyond the Rhene were enflamed the more even by the very fight of the Po: which they passed over against Placentia, and taking some of the enemies spies to terrifed the rest, that beacons afraid the falsely reported Cacina was come with his whole Army. Spurina who then was within Placentia, certainly knew that Cacina was not yet come, and if he did come, was certainly resolved to keepe his men within their defences, and not to hazard three Praetorian cohorts, and a thousand Vexillaries, with a few horfe, against an Armie of old and approved wariers: but the unruly fouldiers, and unskilful of service snatching up their Ensignes and Banners, rushed forward, and as the Captaine endeavoured to stay them they bent their weapons upon him, not respecting their Centurions and Tribune, who commended the Captains circumpectnesse, but the fouldiers cried For Otho, and stuck not more over to affirme, that Cacina was sent for under-hand. Spurina yeelded to follow their folly, by force at the first, afterward making new as if he were willing that his counsels might carry more credit, if it happened hereafter the sedition to coole.
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coole. When they were in the sight of the Po, and the night approached, order was given, that the campe should be entrenched and staked. That labour strange and unfuall to the city-foouldier, abated their fierceness. Then they of the elder fort began to see their own error, and corrected their credulity, to lay open the fear, and the danger, if in those champion Countries Cæcina should with his Army environ them being as it were but an handfull: and now they beganne thorowout all the whole Campe to use modest and dutifull speaches, and by means of the Centurions and Tribunes, who infinuated themselves, into their companies, to commend the widome of the Captaine, in that he had chosen out, for the strength and feat of the war, a Colony of that power and that wealth; and lastly Spurinna himselfe, not by untimely exprobatog their fault, but by reason convincing it, wan them to his opinion, and leaving some behinde for scouts brought back the rest into Placentia leffe mutinous then before, and more at commandement. The waules were made stronger, the number of Bulwarks and Towers encreased, and provision made not onely of Armour, but of subjestion and love of obeying, the only point which lacked in that side, when as otherwise they had of valour sufficient.

IX. Cæcina cometh into Italy, and lyeth before Placentia in vaine.

But Cæcina, as if he had left on the other side of the Mountains cruelty and licentiousnesse behinde him, marched thorow Italy with all modefty, he and his Companies. His kinde of attire the free Cities and Colonies confirmed as a signe of pride, because he gave audience to men which came gowned, himselfe being in his short fouldiers coat of changeable colour, and wearing withall breeches after the French barbarous fashion: and as though they had beene interested thereby, they were grieved also to see his wife Salonina riding upon a goodly Palfrey with a rich furniture of purple, albeit no man were wronged therein: such is the nature of man, and so deepely is the quality rooted in us, straitly to looke into the late prosperitty of others with an envious eye, & to require a moderation of fortune, no were so much, as in those wee have seene in an equall degree with our selves. Cæcina having passt the Po, and asayed by parless, and promises to weaken the loyalty of Othoes men, being quit with the like on their part, seeing that the plausible names of peace and concord had often beene spent betweene them in vaine, converted his counfayles and cares to the besieging of Placentia in most terrible manner; knowing right well, that as the beginning of the warre should succeede, so for the rest reputation would follow. But the first dayes worke was conducted rather by fury then according to skill meet for men of so long experience in service: without cover or defence they ventured rashly under the waules, their bodies surcharged with meat and wine. In that assault the Amphitheatre, a piece of moft curious workmanship standing without the waules, was burned, set on fire either by the Befiegers as they hurled brands and balles of Wilde-fire against the besieged:
befieg'd: or by the besieged as they hurled againe. The townesmen being jealous,
and prone to suspicions, believed that matter was misinformed to the fire upon malice,
by certaine neighbours Colonies, upon emulation and envy, because no piece of
worke in all Italy was of that capacitie beside: by what chance ever it happened;
whilest farther danger was feared, it pass'd not greatly regarded; when all peril
was past, as if no greater misfortune could have befallen, then it was much forrowed
for and lamented: but in the end Cæcina was repulsed with loss of many of his
men, and the night following was spent on both sides in new preparations. The
Vitellianists make provision of plutei, crates, & vinææ, instruments to undermine
the walls, and protect those which were to give the assault: the Othonians of tim-
ber logs and great weights of stones, and lead, and brass, to breake thoro' the
works and overwhelm the adversaries. Both parties were pricked * with shame,
and with glory, and severall encouragements were used, the one side exaiting the
Legions and strength of the German Army, the other magnifying the honor of the
city service, and of the Praetorian Cohorts: the one reviling the fouldier within as
fluggish and refly, and emmined in the Race and Theatres, and the other rebuk-
ing the enemy without as a forrainer and stranger: amusing withall into part of the
praise & dispraise the perfons of Otho and Vitellius, affording indeed more plenti-
fully matter of reproach then of just commendation. The day was scarly yet sprong,
when as the walls were repleni'd with men at defence, the fields did glister with
armour and soldiers; the Legionary * with their thick and close ranks, the Auxili-
ary loose and dispers'd they attempt with arrows and stones a farre off to disfurni-
the highest parts of the walls, if any place were neglected or decayed by age, thi-
ther they make neerer approaches: Otho's men from above, with more poyze
and certaintie, hurle darts upon the Germane Cohorts, which rashly came under
a hideous note, and according to their country manner, with bodies naked,
shaking their targets over their shoulders. The Legionary Souldier, covered with
plutei and crates, undermineth the walles, rafeth up Montes, and endevou-
th to wrett open the gates: of the contrary side the Praetorian souldiers having
millstones of huge weight placed for the purpose, with fearefull nois(ro)wle them
downe upon the enemy: part which came under were overwhelm'd, part
wounded with darts, and flain or mangeld: and so as in a confusion and feare, the
slaughter encreasing below, and consequently their fierceenesse above, the Vitellia-
ists retired with decay of repuration to the side; and Cæcina upon the infamy and
shame of this siege rashly attempted, left he should feeme to fit still in the fame
ground scorned and to no purpose, passeth the Po, back again with purpose to goe
to Cremona. As he departed away Turullius  b Cerealis with many of the mariners
revolted unto him, and Julius Briganticus with a few horse: Julius was by birth a Ba-
tavian and captain of a wing, the other having serv'd as a principal Centurion in
Germanie, was easily wonne to Cæcina's side. Spurinna, upon knowledge had
what way the enemy tooke, certifieth Annius Gallus by letters, that Placentia was
defended, what had pass'd, and what Cæcina intended to doe. Gallus, misdrusting
left those few Cohorts within could not endure a long siege, and the force of the
Germane Army, was bringing the first Legion to succour the towne: but when he
received advise, that Cæcina was repulsed, and going to Cremona, he flayeth the
Legion  at Bebriacum being hardly withheld from mutining, because he would
not lead them to fight. 4 Bebriacum is a village betwenee Verona and Cremona,
notorious and infortunate for two Romane calamities.

1. Plut.
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Plutarch, Crates and Vinez. Plutarch, saith Vegetius lib. 4. cap. 15. is a certaine moveable engine constructa ad familias, & cibis vel suis tecta, quam subjicit apellantur, eujus munitione protectis fugiunt, nisi fundus vel missilia defensores de propagandis extorruit, ut cibis afferintur, sibi prius securit ac Asia. Vinea according to Vegetius in the same place, and Lucan lib. 5. was a frame of wood, or hurdles, covered with earth, sub quo subiectis tecti ad subrursum munerum præstans fundamenta. Crates the same with the one or the other of them; or at least to the same purpose.

Notorious and unfortunate] the two calamities here meant are the two great battles; the first between the Othonians and Vitelliani described in this book the other between the Vitelliani and Flavianii set down in the next, more commonly known by the name of prelium Cremonense, and with greater reason, being fought under the walls of Cremona, and twenty miles from Bebracium, albeit then the first skirmish indeed began not about eight miles from Bebracium. B. hist. and this former battle also was fought a great way from Bebracium, immersionis in praetio, Faith Tacitus, and by all probability, many miles, as shall be declared elsewhere.

X. Macer skirmisheth with the Vitelliani. Otho suspecteth the rest of his Captaines, committeth the conduct of the war to Titianus his brother.

About the same time, not far from Cremona, Martius Macer had a luckie day against the Vitelliani. For Macer being a man of courage and forward, put the "fencers in Boats and landed them suddenly on the other side of the Po. There the Auxiliaries of the Vitelliani were distreseed, and the rest fleeing to Cremona, those which remained behindain flaine: but the winners were not permitted further to follow the chace, left the enemy strengthened with new supply should turne head against them, and alter the fortune of the battell. That fact bred jealousy in Othoes men misinterpreting all that was done howsoever sinisterly, who eagerly as each was in courage most daftard, most lavish in tongue, so fought they by divers misconstruing criminations to put in disgrace Annius Gallus, and Suentonius Paulinus, and Marius Celsus; for them also had Otho made commanders. The principall fire-brands of fedition and discord were the murderers of Galba, who being transported by feare, and the guiltinesse of their owne conscience, disturbed and troubled all good course of proceeding; sometimes breaking openly out into mutinous speech, and sometimes by secret advertisements to Otho who giving credit lightly to every base person, and standing in feare of the good, trembled and quaked, a man in prosperitie uncertainly caried, and governing himself in adversitie better. So he sent for Titianus his brother, and made him his Lieutenant general in the warre.

XI. Paulinus and Celsus give Cecina an overthrow.

In the meane season under the conduct of Paulinus and Celsus a notable overthrow was given. Cæciniae attempts all falling to nothing, and the reputation of his army now wanting, much grieved his minde; he had been repulsed from Placentia, his Auxiliaries lately slaine, and when as the discoverers met one another,
...of Corneliu Tacitus.

ther, in those ordinary bickerings rather than material he commonly went to the worse: whereupon when Fabius Valens approached, left the whole honor of the war should fall upon him, he hastened with greater speed than good counsel, to recover his glory. About (1) twelve miles from Cremona, at a place called Castrones, he placed secretly in the woods, joying upon the high way, of his best Auxiliary soldiers, commanding the horsemens to go out further, and so having begun the skirmish to give back & retire, drawing on the enemy to follow in the heat of the chase, until the ambush should rise: that purpose was betrayed to Otho's Commanders. Paullinus was General of the foot, and Celsus of the horse. The vexillaries of the thirteenth Legion, four Auxiliary Cohorts, and five hundred horse were placed in the left battell; in the middle (2) three Praetorian Cohorts, ranked straightly together, kept their standing upon the high way: in the right battell the first Legion marched, accompanied with two Vexillaries, and five hundred horse: and out of the Praetorian & auxiliaries were led a thousand horse for an over measure if fortune hapned to go on their side, or otherwise a supply, if they should be distrest. Before the joyning the Vitellianists turned their backes, & Celsus, understanding the fraud, repressed his men. The ambush rising up early, as Celsus gave ground, followed so farre till they were circumvented themselves, for on the sides were the Cohorts, and the Legion to meet them in face, & the horsemens suddenly ranging out had inclosed their backs. Suetonius Paullinus at the first delayed some time to give to his foot mens the signe of the battell: for being a person naturally slow and one who liked much better wary courses with reason, than happy by chance, he commanded the ditches first to be filled, the field to be made open and easie of passage, the battalions to be displayed, supposing it seasonably enough to begin then to overcome others, when as order was taken they could not be overcome themselves.

By means of that delay space was given to Vitellius men to flye into the vines, where, by reason of the branches wrapped and knit one in another, it was trouble some to follow: and a little wood adjoyning which covered them, out of which they issued footfoes and flew the formost of the Praetorian horsemens, where King Epiphanes, fighting valiantly on Othoes side, was wounded. By that time Otho's foot-men pressed forward and bare downe by maine force the enemies host, turning to flight even those also which came for to succour. For Cæcina sent not for his Cohorts together, but one after another: which thing in the fight augmented the terror: for the fear of them that fled carried away they succours which came dispersedly, and never so many at once, as to restore the battell. In the camp also a mutiny arose, because they were fethet so scatteringly, and Iulus Gratus the Camp-master was put in prison, as though in favour of his brother, who served under Otho, he intended some treason; whereas the Othonians had, on the other side, committed to ward Iulus Fronto his brother, a Tribune, upon 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 & at the camp, that unless Suetonius Paullinus had founded the retreat, not suffering his men to follow the victory, it was commonly talked on both sides, that Cæcina might have beene destroyed with his whole Army. Paullinus pretended that he was aweard, left beside so much travell and so great a journey, the Vitellian fouldier should have issued forth of their Campe fresh against his men being tired, no supply remaining behind, if it fortune them to have beene defeated. Some few approved that reason of the Generall, but most men condemned the fact, and blamed him for it.
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Twelve miles from Cremona at a place called Castror. This place at Castror is twelve miles (saith our Author) from Cremona, where the maine Campe, I think, of Caesar lay, and eight miles at the least from Bebria-
cum, where Paulinus and Ceillus were encompass, howsoever they are here met in the middle way. Gallus, as it
should seem, was retired to cure himselfe of his fall; or at least, being here is no mention of him in the field, left
so guard the Campe: but (as femeth alfo) he was the time of the great maine batall s described in the present
Chapter.

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

XII. The description of a mutiny which happened in Valens Campe.

This overthrow did not so much dant the Vitellianists, as it reduced them to
a more modest behaviour, not only in Caesarinae campe, who cast the fault
on the soilder more ready to mutiny then fight, but the Army of Fabius
Valensalfo (for now he was come to Ticinum) laying aside contempt of the enemy
& defirous to recover their glory, began to flow to their Generall a more reverend
and orderly obedience. For before a great and hot mutinie had happe ned out, which
I will now set downe from the beginning, albeit not in his proper time, because it
was not convenient to interrupt the course of Caesarinae actions. The Cohorts of
Batavians, 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 joyned themselfes, & as before we have shewed, to Fabius Valens,
began to wax proud and insolent, vaunting and bragging as they came to the tents of
any of the Legions, that they were the men which had overruled the fourteenth
Legion, bereaved Nero of Italy: that in their hands alone lay all the fortune and
whole successe of this warre. That seemed contumelious to the soilder, and highly
displeased the General, the discipline being by their wranglings and brawlings
corrupted. At the last Valens, by their insolent behaviour suspecting perfidiousnes
also, receiving advice, that the wing of the Treveri and Tungrians were beaten by
Othoes Fleete, and that the Province of Nabor was in some danger of invasion,
partly upon a care to defend his friends, and allies, and partly upon military policy
to disperse thee Batavians so mutinuely affected; and of so great strength if they
remained together, commanded part of the Cohorts to goe & relieve them, which
thing when it was heard and noyzed abroad, the Auxiliaries mounnd, the * Cohorts
fromached, lamenting they should be deprived in such a time of so many an ac-
slance of such valiant men: what? should those so experienced, and conquerors
in so many wars, when as the enemies were within view, bee sent away, as it were,
out of the field? if the Province were a matter of more consequence then the City
of Rome and Life of the State, why did they not all follow this: but if the ac-
complishment of the victory, the strength and stay of the cause consisted in Italy,
what reason then to break of, as it were, the foundest and strongest limes from the
body? Upon these and the like presumptuous speeches, when as Valens by bend-
ing his Sergeants among them, went about to correct their seditions behavour, 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, & the price of their
labours was by him embezeled, and hid, they spoiled his carriage, they pearced
and searched his pavilions, and the very ground it felle with their lancis and darts: for
Valens in himselfe in a Bond-mans apparell lay unknown in the Tent of an under-cap-
taine.
tain of horsemen. Then Alphenus Varus the Camp-master, perceiving the heat of
the mutiny past, and the soldiers by little and little to grow colder, adjourned a
policy therunto: (1) forbidding the Centurions to meddle with searching & perusing
the watch, and omitting to sound the Trumpet, by which the soldier is called
to his charge. Whereupon they stood all amazed, looking one on another, astoni-
shed 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 of-
fence. But when as Valens came forth above all expectation alive, weeping and
badly attired, 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 en-
signs, with praises and gratulations, to the Tribunall. Valens using a profitable and
discreet moderation, required not any one to be executed for this transgression;
only in words reproved some few, lest he disheartened the whole, he should be sus-
pected the more: knowing right well that in civil wars the soldiers have advantage
over the Generall, and are more bold to commit disorders, then the Generall may
be to correct them. As they were entretenching at Ticinum, word was brought of
Caecinae overthrown, and the sedition was almost renewed againe, as though by
fraud and delays of Valens they had beene kept back, and come short of the bat-
tle. Whereupon refusing to rest any longer, without staying for their Generall
they march forward, running before their ensignes, and hastening the ensigne bea-
rers: and so in all speed joyne with Caecina. Valens was also disliked and generally
blamed in the Army of Caecina: who pretended themselves to be aggrieved, that
they were left, being so far inferior in number as a prey 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 per-
sions they should be despised of them: and albeit Valens had more forces, atmo-
sot number of Legions and Aides to the other, yet were the good wils of the
soldiers more inclining to Caecina, beside curtesy, wherein he excelled the other,
by reason also of his flourishing age, and taleness of stature, and upon a certain vain
favour of men. Hereupon there grew emulation between the two Generals. Caecina
contemned the other, as a Lewd person of life and criminally noted: Valens
scolded at him as being proud and vain-glorious: but reserving 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 Otho's side,
notwithstanding the argument yielded that way most plentiful matter, abstained
from all reviling speeches against Vitellius: and in truth before their ends which on
Otho's side was most commendable, of Vitellius most ignominious, the drowse
pleasures of Vitellius was feared leffe, then the hot burning lufts of Otho: and be-
side, the death of Galba had made Otho more terrible, and more odious: contrarily
no man charged Vitellius with beginning the war. Vitellius in acceffe and belly-
cheere was an enemy to himselfe: Otho in riot; cruelty, audaciousnesse, reputed
more dangerous to the State.

1 Forbidding the Centurions] Prohibivigilias obire centurionibus. The Centurions charge was not obire vigilias but
suscipere vigilias obire circiteriores. Whereupon they whole charge it was (in Polybius, some of the horsemen,
in Vegetius, circiteriores) went about. So that the Centurions not founding, the Round was not gone.
The forces of Cæcina and Valens being joined together, the Vitellianists refused not any longer to end the cause in a main battell. Otho proposed the matter in counsell, whether way were more expedient, to prolong the war, or else to put it by and by to the fortune of a field. Then Suetonius Paullinus, esteemed the most expert man of that age in military affaires, supposing it agreeable to his fame and renown, to discourse of the whole manner of proceeding in this war, stood up, and declared his opinion to be, that making of haste was profitable for the enemy, and delaying for them, that all the hoste of Vitellius was come, certaine small forces remaining behind, which could not conveniently bee removed from the bank of the Rhone, for scare of invasion of those fierce nations: especially France standing also in some tarmes of rebellion: the soildier in Britain had his hands full of the enemy there, and was also flopped by the sea: that Spaine had no greater store of soildiers: the Province of Narbon was frighted, by reason of the late invasion by sea, and the overthrow which they received, and that portion of Italy beyond the Po, now in the possession of the enemy, was wafted with the passage of their Army, and having no helpe by sea, and by land shut in with the Alpes, could not be relieved from abroad: that they could no where have come for their men, and an host without provision could not be entertained. Now the Germaines, which of all the enemies were most terrible, having foggy and waterish bodies, would not, if the warre were prolonged to the summer, be able to endure the change of the soil, and the aire, that many Armies who’s fury at the first rush could not be resisted, by delays and wearing out were brought unto nothing. Contrariwise they had all things themselves, well store and well assured unto them: Pannonia, Mœsia, Dalmatia, the East, with their Armies, whole and untouched: Italy, and Rome the queuee of the world, the Senate and people, titles never darkened, though sometimes over-shadowed: wealth private and publicke, and infinite maffes of money, which in civill dissentions is of greater force then the sword: the bodies of their soildiers were accustomed to Italy or to other hot countries: the river 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 seene, that none through diligence or despaire would yield to the enemy: and therefore in his opinion bee was to protract the warre. That within few dayes the fourteenth Legion would become, a Legion of great reputation, with the forces of Mœsia: then might bee deliberate againe, and if it were liked to hazard the battell, fight with more power and greater advantage. Marius Celsus approved this opinion of Paullinus, and certaine which were sent to Annius Gallus (who was hurt with a fall off his horse a few daies before) to demand his advise, 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 Captaine of the Guard, hasting upon ignorance and lacke of skill, protested that Fortune and all the gods, with the god-head of Otho, favoured the Counsailers, and would without question prosper the enterprize: descending to this grosse kind of flattery, left any should dare to crosse their opinion. After they had concluded to fight, a new doubt arose, whether it were better, that the Emperor should with-draw himselfe, or else be present in the field in person: the selfe-same men taking also herein a wrong course, without any more opposition of Paullinus...
Paulinus and Celsus, left they should seeme to hazard their Prince too venturously, persuaded him to retire to Brixellum; and so being exempt from the doubtfull events of the field, to reserve himselfe for the maine chance of the state. That day was the beginning of ruine of Othoes side. For with him a valiant company of Praetorian cohorts, of "Spearemen 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 onely the fouldiers trusted, because he trusted none else: but the fouldiers had not perfectly setled the Generals in their charges, but left their authorities at large and uncertaine.

XIII. A skirmish between the Vitellianists and Macer with his Fencers upon the Po.

All that was said or done was carried by and by to the Vitellian side, fugitives warming as in civil wars, and the spies, upon desire to search out and discover other mens counsels, disclosing their owne. Caecina and Valens, lay still, quietly attending while the enemy should by his own rashness miscarrie, meaning in lieu of wisedome to use the advantage of other mens folly. And so beginning a bridge, left their fouldiers should be made worse with too much idlenesse & ease, as if they had meant to have paffed the Po, & forced a band of "Fencers encamped on the other side, they commanded boats to be placed crosse the River, with their heads up the streame, in equall and convenient distances, & joynd them strongly together with plancks, casting ankers also to make the bridge steady and firme: but the Cable-ropes were not tied short, but plaied at length, that when the river should rife, the whole frame like wise might rife without hurting. Upon the end of the bridge a tower was planted, reaching to the uttermost boat, that out of it they might with their engins and shot displace, and drive away the enemies: the Othonians also upon the bank had builded a Tower, and did hurle stones and fire. In the middle of the river there was an island, into possession whereof the Fencers sought to put themselves by boat, but the Germanes by swimming prevented them; and when Macer saw a competent number of them arrived there, embarking of his best Fencers, he putteth over to affaile them: but neither were the Fencers of the like courage in fight to the fouldiers, neither could they, tottering out of their boats, aime so certaine a blow, as the other steadily standing did from the land: and when as through sundry stepings aside upon feare the rowers and fouldiers which stood at defence, were confoundedly mingled together & put in disorder, the German fouldiers leaping courageously into the shalow, and hanging at the tayles of the boats, either clambered up to the hatches, or by main strength overturned the boats into the water. All which things passing after this fort 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 losse. And the skirmish was ended indeed 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 dart at a fare off, they ranne in with their swords drawn to dispatch him, had not the Tribunes and Centurions come in to protec't him. A little afterward Vestricius Spurinna by Othoes commandement, leaving a small garrison at Placentia, with his cohorts come to succour them: and anon Otho sent Flavius Sabinus Consul elect to command Macers Companies, the Souldiers being glad at the change.
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change of Captaines, and the Captaines 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 soldiery would of their owne accord have surcease from civil warre, and by common consent, and advice of the Senate, deposing the two bad, have chosen a third good Prince.

IN some writers I finde it recorded, that the armies, either having in horror the war, or loathing both Princes, whose shame and dishonours were daily divulged more notoriously abroad, consulted among themselves to surcease the contention, and that either they by common consent should choose a new Prince, or refer it over to the Senates appointment: and that therefore the Generals of Othoes side, namely Paullinus, had counselled to delay and protract, hoping it would fall upon him, as being the most ancient Consular, a famous commander, and one that in the wars of Britain had won great glory and name. For my part, although I could be induced to grant that some few periadventure secretly wished quietness in stead of discord, and for two most lewd and wicked, one good and innocent Prince; so I cannot be brought to beleive, that Paullinus 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 war they had troubled the peace of the State, now for love of peace they would abandon the war: 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 like vices, and of their owne creation, and therefore wholly obnoxious to them. That ancient desire of dominion and rule ingrafted now long ago in menshearts, grew up and shot out with greatnesse of the Empire. For while 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 leisure to seeke for wealth void of perill, there arose first hot contentions betweene the Nobility and Commons: sometimes factious Tribunes carried it away: sometimes the Consuls held a hard hand and prevailed: and in the Citie and place of assembly, some little skirmishes, and commencements as it were of civil warres, were attempted. Anon after Caius Marius one of the meanest of the Community, and Lucius Sulla the cruel left of all the Nobility, by force of armes overthrowing the fere estate, induced an absolute governmët. After whom Cneius Pompeius succeeded, somewhat secret, but nothing better: but after that time never was another question debated by armes, but who shold be soveraigne Prince of the State. The Legions in Pharallia and Philippi, confisiting of Citizens, were not so moderately minded: much less may we think the armies of Otho and Vitellius would, of their owne accord, have laid downe their weapons. The gods were no less incensed against us: men were no less mad and furiously minded: the same vices reigning amongst us have induced the like diffentions & discords. That the wars were decided, and ended as it were at one stroke, we are to attribute it to the cowardineffe and faint heartedneffe of the Princes, & not to the peaceable-nes of the armies. But the recounting of the dispositions & manners, of present and ancient times, hath carried me out of the way. Now I return to the order of the stro-rie.

XVI. The
of Cornelius Tacitus.

XVI. The great battell as Bebriacum: wherein Othoes side was overthrown.

When 'Otho was gone to Brixellum, Titianus his brother carried the countenance and title of Generall; Proculus Captaine of the Guard the power and authority: Paullinus and Celsus, when as no man employed their wife-dome and skill, were Captaines onely for names fake, and to be entituled to other mens faults: the Tribunes and Centurions, seeing the better contented, and the worst fort in credit, were doubtful of the event: the fouldier notwithstanding was full of courage and heart, yet such as had rather construe then execute his Generals commandements. It was resolved, that the campe should move forward, and sit down in a place foure miles off 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 distressed for water. There it was disputed whether the battell were to be given or not. For Otho by letters required to haften the matter: the fouldiers defired their Princes presence in field: 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 have done, as that it was the worst which they did. Undertaking to go to the confluence of the rivers of Po and Olius, full sixteen miles from that place [a competent journey for an Army to march, & much too great for them which went too a battell] directly against the advice of Paullinus and Celsus, who held it unsafe to hazard the fouldier, tired with the journey, & heave laden with carriage, against an enemy, that would not faile, being lightly appointed, and having come scarce foure miles to charge upon them: either as they marched in disarray, or else at the sitting downe as they dispersed themselves to fortifie the Campe. But Titianus and Proculus, when they were overcom[e] by reason fled to authoritie, by vertue of their Office commanding the contrary: and indeed there was come a *Numidian Horse-man in post from Otho with a sharpe message, in the which, as one that could not abide delays, and impatient to linger in hope, checked the Generals for their slackness, commanding them forthwith to put it to a field. The same day as Cæcina was busily occupied about making the bridge, the Tribunes of Praetorian Cohorts came thither, demanding to speake with him: and being upon the point to give audience, and make answer unto them, the skowts came running in haste, signifying the enemy was at hand; whereupon the parle brake off, and so it remained uncertaine what they intended, whether to lay a traine for Cæcina, or to betray their owne fellowes, or else some other honest devise. Cæcina having dismissed the Tribunes, riding back to the Campe, found the signe of the battell already given by Valens commandement, and the fouldiers in arms. Whilst the Legions cast lots concerning their order in marching to the field, the Horse-men issuing out charged, and were beaten backe very strangely by Othoes men being fewer in number, even into the Trenches, had not the Italian Legion manfully drawne their swords, and by feare 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 took away the sight of the enemy, albeith he were neere. Contrarily in Othoes Armie the Generals with feare were put out of their skill, the fouldiers neither loved nor trusted their Generals; the wagons and idle followers of the Campe troubled the works of the fouldiers, being confudely mingled amongst them; and the High-way deeply ditched

*Great perusages in those days had usuallly certained African or Numidian Horse-men to lead their traine, or for other sudden dispatches.

Sermes Epist. 124.

Omnem jam se pergominam, utillos Numidarium praecurreret equitatum, us agmen curfo rum antecederat, turpis ego nullus effe qui occurrerat ut, de ipso, qui hunc lumen hominem venire magno puero officiatsum. Item Epist. 8. Epigram. 4. Nunc velit, qui niger caelati, fascinio nosque cura ante edat.
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ditched on both sides was too narrow for an army, though marching without fear of the enemy: some stood about, some sought their enkindle: for there were which untruly gave out, that the array was revolted from Vitellius. That rumour whether it was diffus'd abroad by Vitellius spies, or rofe otherwise among Otho's men, whether by fraud or chance, it is not certainly knowne: but howsoever, thereupon the Othonians laying aside all edge to fight, in stead thereof proffered after a friendly sort to salute them, but were with unfriendly murmur intertain'd againe: which salutation gave caufe to many of their owne side, that were ignorant of the rumour, to feare treason. Then the hoft of the enemies in good array, superior both in number and strength, charged upon them: the Othonians, although in disarray fewer and weary, yet valiantly receiv'd the charge. And as in places troubled with trees and Vines the fight was not every where after one manner: but here neere at hand, and there afarre off: sometime in squadron, sometime in Triangle-figure: upon the height of the way joyning foot to foot, and bearing down with body to body, and buckler to buckler: omitting the use of the darts, and with swords and hatchets unbuckling and breaking helmets and corslets: and the parties knowing one another, and being feene of their companions, each contended to shew vertue and valour, as if upon their manhood had depended the event of the whole warre. It fortuned, that in open field betweene the Poland and the high way, two legions met and fought together; for Vitellius the one and twentieth surnamed Rapax, a Legion anciently renowned, of Otho's part the first called Adjutrix, one never before brought to the battell, but presuming greatly of her selle, and greedy as in her first service, of honor. They of the first Legion, beating to ground the ensigns of the one and twentieth, took away the standard by force: whereupon the Legion incensed with griefe both put them of the first in braule playing Orphidius Benignus the Lieutenant, and also took many ensigns and banners from them. On the other side the thirteenth Legion was forced by them of the fifth: and certain of the fourteenth hemm'd in with multitudes of enemies that came in upon 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 fresh supply: and besides a new succour came in of Alphenus Varus with his Batavians, after he had discomfited the band of the Fencers, who palling the water by boats, were shone by the adversary Cohorts in the very river it selfe. So being victorious they invaded the flankes of the enemies: and when once the middle battel was forced, the Othonians brake and fled toward Bebraicum. The way was long and almost stopp'd up with dead carkasses, the slaughter being the greater for that in civill wars there is no profit to be made of the prisons. Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus took sundry waies and thun'dred the campe: Vedius Aquila Lieutenant of the thirteenth Legion, supposing all other waies unsafe, through undiscover'd feare put himselfe into the danger of the furious lounder. For entering into the Campe a great while before it was night, he was eclaimed upon and nailed at on every side, with clamors of the most feditious and cowardly persons: who forbearing to use neither tongues nor hands, reviled him as a fugitive and traitor, not upon any speciality they could charge him withall, but after the manner of the common sort, each man laying his owne names upon others. Titianus & Celsus returned not before night, which served them to good purpose. For
for the watch was now set, and the fouldiers fury appeared by the helpe of (2) Annius Gallus: who partly by intreaty and advise, partly by his credit and authority, persuaded them not to heape misery upon misery, and beside the losse of the batell to fecke the spoile one of another: that whether the warre were now at an end, or else it would please them to resume it, the only meanes to relieve the conquered side confinfted in their agreeing together. And indeed the reft were out of courage and comfort: only the Guard fouldiers formed, affirming they were overcome not by manhood but treason: and that the Vitellian side had bought the victorie dearely with their bloud, their horsemen being repulsed, and the standard of a Legion taken away, that there yet remained in store many fouldiers beyond the Po attending on Otho: the Legions of Moesia were coming at hand, and that a great part of the army had stayd behind at Bebraciun, & never presented themselves to the batell: that fully these at the leaft had not been overcome: and if so needs it must be, they should with more honor die in the field. Upon these and the like cogitations sometimes growing desperate, & sometimes yeelding to feare, through consideration of their owne forlome estate, they were incited more often to rage then to relent. The Vitellian Army lodged five miles from Bebraciun, the Generalls not daring that day to attempt the enemies campe: and beside a voluntary yeelding was hoped for: where albeit they could not intrench, as men that went out lightly appointed and only to fight, yet their weapons in hand, and the victorie they lately obtained, was a sufficient defence. The day following those of Othoes men which had made fiew of moft courage, repenting and yeelding, the whole Army with one accord sent an Embassage to the Vitellianists. The Vitellian Generalls without any question granted them peace: onely the Embassadours were stayed there for a reason, which bred a scruple in the minds of the other, not knowing whether they had obtained as yet or not the request: but anon the Embassage returning, the Campe was let open. Then both the conquered & conquerers, breaking out into weeping, with a wofull joyfulness, detected the misery of civil diffentions: and meeting in the fame Tents, 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 so void of mischance, that had not to mourn for some bodies death. The bodie of Orphidius the Lieutenant was sought out, and buried with accustomed solemnity, and some few beside by their friends: the rest of the common fort were left on the ground.

2. When Otho was gone to Brixellum] In the description of this great battell, in my conceit, are many great imperfections. And first to settle the reading, where in some printed copies it is by correction confuelti Padu & Addua flumen pretibus, whereas Padu & Ageb was found in old written Copies, is a mistaking of the Correctours. Padu and Addua meeke about Cremone: Bebraciun standeth twenty miles below: So that the Othonians removing from Bebraciun, with intention to fight with the Vitellianists being about Cremone, had no reason to goe to the confluence of Padu and Addua. Then the distance cannot agree; For the straight way between Bebraciun and the conquence of Addua, must be no more then here is limited. So that wee must finde a river meeting with the Po, some (5) four miles or thereabout beneath Cremone. Ollius perchance, or some other, whose confluence the Othonians went to, and whereabout the batell began. Now where the Vitellianists were encamped, Tacitus very strangely omiteth to set downe. Micer with his Gladiators was bad prest Cremone, against whom Cremone made a bridge, which bridge, as it appeareth by the circumstances, was not farre from their maine Campe. Then the Vitellianists which fled away, flie to Cremone, as to their strength, and place of retirre, daily Tacitus himselfe. 3. Hist. talking of Cremone, cedum rufus bellis, in the same book, Ollianum bellum Germaniebus miles manibus Cremomenium cedra sus, Cernit cedra cum circumjectat: a notable particulartie, and more agreeable to have beene declared here. But by all these places, we may, 1. suppose, falsely presume, that at Cremone, howsoever they came by it (for of that also may be a question, as it is touched before) was alwayes afterward the Vitellianists maine Campe. Now the Othonians, (but Tacitus, removed 4 miles forward, leaving not with the inhabiting at Bebraciun the Campe standing and furnishd with many men for the defence;) So that this Campe four miles from Bebraciun was but only for a nights lodging: for to Bebraciun only did the Othonian fouldiers retire when
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According to Plutarch, from Bibractum, from (b) that lodging they removed eighteen miles further, not directly, as it may be supposed, but declining on the left hand toward the Po, about four miles beneath Cremona, at the confluence of the Po and Oglio as they now call it, or Agle, or whatsoever, and yet (c) from thence they did not move down but went straight to finde the enemy in his own strength at Cremona. For (d) Tacitus) they had almost driven the Vitellian horse-men (d) into their owne trenches: so that, in my fancies, the poore innocent village of Bebriacum, never heard of before, nor since, infomuch that no man knoweth where it stood, had little right to call the name of this field, therewither Cremona, and yet all writers denominate it so, unless it were because the Othonians, being broken, fled thither: for surely the battle was begun twenty miles off, and hard under Cremona. For the time of this battle, according to Josephus and Egeippus, it should seeme to have beene fought the very next day after the battle of Cremona: but by Tacitus, in this case a more crediblie authour, as in a matter done in Italy, it appeareth to have beene farre otherwise. Suetonius Othon, cap. (e) describeth the meeting of the two armies in faire other manner.

And Bebriacum, now called Uxellum, or whatsoeuer, and yet it seems they set not downe there, but went to that dry place straight to finde the enemy in his owne strength at Cremona. For (f) Tacitus) they had almost driventhe Vitellian horse-men (f) into their owne trenches: so that, in my fancies, the poore innocent village of Bebriacum, never heard of before, nor since, infomuch that no man knoweth where it stood, had little right to call the name of this field, therewither Cremona, and yet all writers denominate it so, unless it were because the Othonians, being broken, fled thither: for surely the battle was begun twenty miles off, and hard under Cremona. For the time of this battle, according to Josephus and Egeippus, it should seeme to have beene fought the very next day after the battle of Cremona: but by Tacitus, in this case a more crediblie authour, as in a matter done in Italy, it appeareth to have beene farre otherwise. Suetonius Othon, cap. (e) describeth the meeting of the two armies in faire other manner.

XVII. Otho understanding of the overthrow at Bebriacum killeth himselfe. The fouldiers about him, when they could not induce Perginus to undertake the place, yield themselves to the Vitellianists.

In the meantime while Otho at Brixellum waited for the newes of the battell without all passion of feare, and certainly resolued what he would doe. And first an uncertaine report of ill tidings was muttered without head or advow; then they which fled out of the battell came and declared that all was certainly lost. The fouldiers ardent affection was fuch, that they stayed not for any comfort or encouragement from their Empourer, but contrariwise they comforted him, bidding him to be of good cheere: that there was yet new forces remaying, & that they would hazard all perils and suffer all extremities for his sake. Neither was it flattery; but in unfained good meaning, upon a certaine instinct and furie, and mightily defired to goe to the field, to set up the side and recover the losse againe. They which ftood a farr e off held up their hands and befought him: the nearest embraced his knees, especially Plotius Firmus Captaine of the Guard, who besought him often and instantly not to forsake his so well desiring fouldiers, loving and faithful an Armie; averring that it was greater magnanimity to endure than to relinquit when fortune doth croffe: that stout men and valiant, even against fortune doe relie upon hope, whereas the cowardly dastards are hastily drawne by feare to despaire. As Otho feem'd by his countenance to yeeld to these speeches, or else to reject them, so were there diversely howtings for joy, or groanings for sorrow. And not onely the Praetorians, the most addicted and partiall fouldiers to Otho, but those also which were sent before out of Moesia affirmed, that the Armie which was expected would alike obstinately maintaine the quarrell: and that the Legions already were come to Aquilea; so that without all question a cruel and bloody warre might have beene renewed of doubtfull event to the one side and to the other. But Otho altogether aliene from any purpose of warre, To hazard, quoth he, this vertue and valour of yours to needless dangers, I accound 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 & not by constraint. Fortune and I have had good
experience the one of the other: and nothing the less for that my time hath been
short. I tell you, it is harder to moderate a man's self in felicity, the which he look-
erch not long to enjoy. The civil war began on Vitellius party, & thence grew the
first occasion to contend with arms for the Empire: but to contend no other but
once, I for my part am purposed to give the example. And hereby let the polterity
judge and esteem of Otho. Through my benefic Vitellius shall enjoy his brother,
his wife, and his children: I seek no revenge, I have no need of such comforts.

Others have kept longer the Empire, but let it be said, that none hath ever so vali-
anly left it. Shall I suffer so much Roman blood again to be spilt, and the Com-
mon-wealth deprived of so worthy Armies? Let this minde accompany me to my
greave, & so sure it shall, that you for your parts would have died for my sake: but
tarry you and live, and let not me be any longer a hinderance to your obtaining of
pardon, nor you to my determination and purpose. To speak more of dying, or to
use many words in that argument, I take to proceed of a cowardly courage. This


take for a principal proofe of my resolutenesse, that I complaine not of any. For
to blame gods or men is their propertie that gladly would live. After these words
and the like, in courteous language, according to their age or degree, he required
the young men, and defired the old to get them quickly away and goe to the win-
ner, left by flacking the time they provoked his further displeasure: rebuking effo-
foones the uneaſonable weepings of those about him, without any shew of altera-
tion in countenance, or signe of feare in his speech. Then he commanded those
which departed to be furnished with wagons and barges, burned all books and let-
ters containing any matter notably in favour of himselfe or disfavour of Vitellius,
and distributed money sparingly, and not as one that should die. Then he called
unto him Salvius Cocceianus his brothers sonne, being in the prime of his youth,
and seeing him sore afraid and weeping, he comforted him, notwithstanding the cafe
touched nearer himselfe, commending his kindnesse, and natural affection, and
reprehending his timorousnesse. What? were it possible, that Vitellius should bee
so hard hearted, and cruelly minded, as not to do him that one pleasure, whereas he
had preferred for him his whole house without harme? that at least by his hasty
dispatch of himselfe he desired that some courtesie should be shewed to his kinred:
especially having forborne, for the love of his country, to seek his last and utter-
most remedie, not upon extreme despaire, but then when as his army with inſtance
demanded to bring it to a battell againe. But, hee said, for his part he had gotten
renounce enough for himselfe, and nobilitie for his posteritie, after the Julian, Clau-
dian, and Servian families, having first of all men brought into a house of no great
continuance the honour of having an Emperour: and therefore he willed him with
good courage to live and go on, neither forgetting at any time that Otho was his
Uncle, nor yet too much remembering the fame. After these things he willed all to
depart and give place, and gave himselfe a while to his rest: but a sudden tumult
interrupted the course of his last cares, word being brought in of the disorder'd &
outrageous behaviour of the fouldiers: who threatened to kill all thofe which went
away, but were more eagerly bent against Verginius, whose house being shut they
feuer round about. Whereupon Otho went out, and having rebuked the princip-
pall mutins, returning againe spent the time in waking and comforting them
which departed, until they were all safely conveyed away. When it grew toward
night, hee 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 under his pillow: and
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having certaine knowledge that his friends were already gone, he paffed the night in good reft, and as it is faid, not without ſleep: asſoon as it was day he ran himſelfe through the breast with a Rapier. Upon his groaning, as he was dying, his freed and bond-men, with Plotius Firmus Captaine of the Guard, entred in, and found but onely one wound. The funerals were haſtned with all ſpeed, for he had moft earneſtly befought and intertated to diſpatch them, leſt his head peradventure ſhould have beene cut off, and contemptuſionſly uſed: the Pretorian Cohorts carried the Biere, with praiſes and teares, kifſing his wounds and his hands. At the Funerall fire of some of the fouldiers flew themſelves, not upon crime, nor for feare, but for the great love they bare to their Prince, and to imitate fo honourable an example: and afterwards at Bebricium, Placentia, and in other Campes many did the like: a Tomb e alſo they erected for Otho with little cost andſolemnitie, and therefore the liker to ſtand. In this maner Otho ended his daies in the feven & thirtieth yeare of his age. He was originally descended from Ferrentium: his father was Confuſ, his grandſather Praetor: his mothers bloud somewhat disparaging, but yet not bale, in his tender age and youth fuch as we have ſhewed; one, that by two acts, the one moſt deteſtable, the other moſt praife worthy, deferved with poſteritie a good fame, in as great meaſure as he did ill. As to heape together fabulous mat¬ter, and delight the readers minde with tales deſigned at pleaſure, I would account of a thing little agreeable to the gravity of my purpoſed Work, fo on the other side I dare noto detrac all credit, from things which are commonly ſpoken, and delivered. The fame day that the Armies fought at Bebricium, the inhabitants of Regium Lepedi report, that a strange bird was seen fitting in a grove much frequented: and that the could not beſeared or driven away, by the ſorting of men to the place, or of birds flying about her, untiſ ſuch time as Otho ſlew himſelfe; then ſhe vanished out of fight: and that conferring the times, they found the beginning and end of the miracle to agree precisely with Othoes deceaſe. At his funerals the fouldiers through ſorrow and grieſe raifed a new tumult, neither was there now any to ſtay them. And ſetting upon Verginius menacingly they befought him, ſometiſme to take the Empire himſelfe, sometime to be their ſpoken man to Caecina and Valens; but Verginius, as they were breaking into the house, deceived them, ſliping privily at the backe gate. So Rubrius Gallus carried the ſupplication of the cohorts, which were at Brixellum, and ſtraight waies obtained their pardon. Flavius Sabinus alſo came, with the companies which he commanded, and yielded himſelfe to the winner.
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 abstaining at the least from reviling, and contumelious terms, and apparently seeking an occasion to begin a massacre: whereas the Senators had beside to stand in fear another way, least they should seem not forward enough to like of Vitellius victory, with whom now all the world was gone. Thus trembling, and between both being doubtfull how to carry themselves, they met together, none daring to follow any private direction, but associating himself with the multitude, presuming thereby of greater security. As they were in this perplexity, the counsel of Mutina increased their cares, offering them armour and money, and styling them at every word, very unfeanonably, Lords of the Senate. In that assembly arose a hot contention. Licinius Cæcina inveyed against Epirus Marcellus, for that he seemed to speak 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 exposèd to envie, and odious for his late trade of accusing, to the end that himself being lately risen, 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 themselves, the matter was pacified: and so they went back all to Bononia, there to deliberate anew, hoping withall in the mean season to receive more advertisements. At Bononia they set in several ways several persons to enquire newes of the passengers which late left came from those quarters: by whom a Freed-man of Otho being demanded the causse of his coming away, he answered, that he had brought with him his masters last charge: that indeed he had left him alive, but without any care, save only of posterity, and having renounced all delights of this present life: hereupon they grew into admiration of him, and were ashamed to ask any further: and now all wholly declared themselves for Vitellius. His brother L. Vitellius was present at their consultations, and already offered himselfe to be fawned upon, when suddenly Cenus, a Freed-man of Neroes, with a loud and desperate lie amazed them all, affirming that upon the arrival of the fourteenth Legion, the forces which were at Brixellum being joyed thereto, the fortune of the sides was changed, and the conquerers were overthrown. The cause of devising the rumour was, that the commissions of Otho for postes, which began not to be regarded, might through so glad some message be revived againe. And so Cenus palléd indeed in post to the Citie, but within few dayes after by Vitellius commandement was executed, but the peril of the Senators was augmented thereby, for Otho's soldiier believed the newes to be true: and that which made their cause worse was, that they were departed from Mutina, and so the side esteemed discountenanced and forsaken, as it were, by the Councell of state. Neither did they after that time consult any more in common: every man fought to provide for himselfe, untill such time as letters sent from Fabius Valens, and the
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the death of Otho the more praise worthy the sooner heard of, put them out of feare.

XIX. The estate of affaires at Rome: and the insolencies committed by the Vitellian soldiars after the victorie.

But at Rome all was quiet, without any trouble or feare, the plays of Ceres were solemnely kept according to the custome: and when certaine word was brought into the Theatre that Otho was dead, and that Flavius Sabinus Provoft of the Citie had sworne all the soldiars in the City to Vitellius, in signe of joy the people clapped their hands and gave applaus unto Vitellius. Then they carried the images of Galba with boughes of Lawrell and flowers about the Temples, heaping up together in manner of a tombe garlands and Coronets about Lcus Curtius, which place Galba at his death had embrued with his bloud. In the Senate all titles and honours usually conferred upon other Princes by occasions, and after they had reigned many yeres, were straight ways decreed to Vitellius: and withall prases concluded upon for the German armies, with solemn 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 enough: yet Cæcinae modestie was better accepted in that he wrote not at all. But Italy was now more grievously vexed, and cruely handled then during the war. The Vitellian soldiars dispersed in the free towns and Colonies pilled and spoiled, polluted and ravished without any difference of right or wrong, holy or profane, but only following their ravenous and insolent humour, or else by money bought out to forbear: and some there were that counterfaitting themselves to be soldiars flew their particular enemies. The soldiars also themselves were skill'd in the Countrey, and designed out the well flowered grounds, and well monied matters to pray upon, or if resistanse were made, to destroy them; the Generals being obnoxious and not daring to prohibit it: Cæcina was leefe covetous and more possesse with vain-glory: Valens was for bribery and pollong infamous, and therefore a winker also at other mens faults, so many foot men and horse, so great violences, dammages and injuries, especially the state of Italy being already greatly empowerished before, were hardly abiden.

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

In the meane season Vitellius ignorant of his own victory, made preparation as for a war new to begin, and carried with him beside eight thousand soldiars of Britannie, the strength which remained of the German army: few old soldiars were left in the standing Camps, but new men levied in haft out of France to uphold the names of the Legions remaining behinde: and the charge of the militarie affaires there was committed to Hordeonius Flaccus. When Vitellius had marched some few dayes journey, he understood of the good success at Bebraciacum: then that Otho was dead and the war finisht: whereupon calling an assemblie he highly extolled the valiantnesse of the soldiars. After the speech, his Armie instantly requested him to create Astiticus his freed man a gentleman of Rome: with shamefull flattery he then rebuked; and soon after upon a ficklenesse of wit, that which he had openly refused, he privily bestowed in banquet, and honoured with rings Astiticus, a bale abject slave, and one seeking to rife by ill means. About the same time
time message was brought that Albinus Procurator of both Mauritaines was slain, and the Countries had sided themselves with Vitellius. Luceceius Albinus was by Nero sent over Mauritania Cæariensis, and Galba annexed the administration of Tingitana, so that he had forces of good moment under his charge: eighteen Cohorts, five wings and an infinite number of Moores not unfit for the warre, as men that usually 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 disjoyned from it by a narrow straight. Hereupon Cluvius Rufus was afraid, and commanded the tenth Legion to approach to the shore, as if he meant to have shipped over: sending before certain Centurions to induce the mindes of the Moores to favour Vitellius: neither was it hard to effect. For the fame of the German Army was great throughout all the Provinces, and beside a report was spered, that Albinus contemning the name of a Procurator, had usurped a royall diadem, and the name of Juba. So their mindes being changed, thereupon they went and slew Afinius Pollio Captain of a wing, one of Albinus faithfullie friends, and Fellius and Scipio two Captaines of Cohorts: Albinus himselfe as he went by sea from Tingitana to Mauritania Cæariensis was slain as he landed, and his wife withall, who voluntarily offered herselfe to the slaughter. These things and all else what was done Vitellius passed over without due examination, as his manner was with a short audience to turn over matters of greatest importance; a man farre unmeet to wield weighty affairs. When they came to Araris, Vitellius willed the Army to march by land, and went himselfe down by the river, without any furniture fit for a Prince, but in his old beggerly array, till Junius Blælius governor of Gallia Lugduenis, a man of high parentage, of a franck minde and wealth answerable thereto, furnished him of provision and servitors, and accompanied him honorably according to his estate: a thanklesse office and displeasing, albeit Vitellius fought by submisse and glozing speeches to cover his hatred. At Lions the Generals met him of both sides, the winning and loosing. Valens and Cæcina he commanded in open assembly, and set them about his chaire of estate: then he commanded the whole Army to go out, and meet his little young son. Being brought and clothed in a princely manetell, his father holding him in his arms named him Germanicus, and arrayed him with all the imperiall ornaments: this excessive honour in prosperity, in advertie served for a comfort. Then were the bravest and forwardest of Othoes Centurions put to the sword: upon which occasion grew principally the dislike the Illyrian Armies conceived of Vitellius, and withall the rest of the Legions, partly by contagion, and partly upon envy to the German soldiers, projected warre in their mindes. Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus could not have audience, but were detained a great while in sorrow and heaviness: till at length being admitted they produced matter of excuse, rather such as stood withold, somene. Not very long: for Mus- cianus caused him to be made away. Of six years 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 own fellows, alladging the length of the journey before the battell, the weariness of Othoes men, the shuffling of Cartes and the soldiers together, and many other matters of chance, as done by them for the purpose: and Vitellius beleevd the treason, and acquainted them of the crime of sidelie. Salvius Titiarius Othoes brother was clearly dischargd, being holden excused both because he was so nearly tied by nature, and because he was a man of no moment. Marius Celsus had his life and honor saved: for his Consulship was reserved unto him. It was said and beleevd, and afterward objectcd to Cæcilius Simplex in the Senate, that he sied and bought that office with money, seeking withall the destruction
Who composed the oration which Otho pronounced to the people before his departure from Rome. 

*Hist. 1.*

The destruction of Celsus: but Vitellius refused the suit, and gave Simplex afterward a consulship without any money or blood. As for Trachalus, Galeria Vitellius wife protected him against his accusers. Among these dangers of honorable persons one Marius (a shame to be spoken) a base fellow among the Boians, counterfeiting new revelations, dared to thrust him forward and try his adventure, and to provoke the Roman forces against him: who pretending to be the setter of France at freedome, and a god, (for so he intitled himselfe) had drawn already together eight thousand men, and began to waste the Frontiers of the Aeduans: but that grave and wise City, assembling the choice of their youth with some of Vitellius Cohorts, discomfited the fanatical multitude. In that encounter Marius was taken, and being cast to the wilde beasts, because he was not devoured, the foolish people believed that he could not be hurt, untill such time, as in the presence of Vitellius afterward he was slain: neither was there any further cruelty shewed to any of that conspiracy, either in body or goods. The Testaments also of them which died in the field for Otho, remained in their full strength and validity, or if they died unlawfully, the ordinary course of the Law, provided in that behalfe, was observed. And generally, if he could have forbore his riotous living, or used any moderation therein, covetousness was a crime in him not to be feared: but he was shamefully given to his belly, without all order or measure: for which purpose there were brought out of Rome and Italy, all provocations of gluttony: the high wayes from both the seas founded of nothing else: but of Caters and Ripiers: the greatest men in the cities were spent and confumed in providing of Cates for the banquets: the cities themselves were wafted: the fouldiers grew worse and degenerated from labour and vertue: partly by enuring themselves to pleasures, and partly through the contemptible Ease of the Commander. Moreover an edict was sent before hand to Rome, wherein Vitellius declared, that he would not accept of the title of Augustus as yet, nor the name of Caesar at all, whereas in substance and power he abased nothing thereof: and withall the Astrologers were banished out of Italy: and moreover it was straitly inhibited, that no Roman Gentleman should pollute himselfe with profession of fencing in School or Theatre. Some former Princes had hired them with money to do it, and more often compelled them by force: and many Free-townes and Colonies, each striving to excell others induced some unhurthy young men to the like dishonour. Now Vitellius upon the coming of his brother, and certain School-masters of tyrannie creeping into the Court, waxing prouder and fiercer, commanded Dolabella, whom as before we remembred, Otho had confin’d to Aquinum, upon this occasion to be slain. Dolabella, hearing that Otho was dead, was returned to Rome: whereof Plautius Varus once Praetor, one of Dolabellae most inward friends, accused him before Flavius Sabinus the Provost of the City, as if he had broken prison, to the end to make offer of himself for a head to the conquered faction: adding moreover, that to that purpose he had felt the cohort, which was in garrion at Olitia: but having no one proof of any of these so 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 cruell above the ordinary of that sex, terrified him, warning him not to affect the commendation of clemency by the perill of his prince. Sabinus, a man of his own nature of a milde disposition, but when he was put in feare easie to be changed, and fearing to make another mans danger his own lest he should seeme to have helped him up, as he was falling pushed him forward. Vitellius, partly upon feare and partly upon an old grudge, because
because Dolabella had taken Petronia to wife straight upon her divorce from him, called him by letters unto him: and commanding to avoid the beaten Flaminian way, and carry him by Interamna, he gave commission to murder him there. That seemed too long to him that had the commission: and therefore in an Inne by the way, as Dolabella refted himselfe on the ground, he cut his throat, to the great infamy of the new government, whereof this was the first proof. This kinde of behaviour of Triaria was the more odious, by setting against it the modesty of her next neighbour Galeria the Emperours wife, heaping not forrosse upon the sorrowfull, and the rare vertue of Sextilia his mother, a woman of the ancient sort: who is also reported to have faid at the reading of her fonnes first letters, that a Vitellius was borne by her and not a Germanicus: neither did the afterwaords through any allurements of fortune, or courting of the City, participate any thing elfe of her fonnes estate, save onely the smarts of her house when it fell.

The Astrologers were) The substance of the edict was, ut intra Kal. Oct. vi the Italiane Mathematicians excetitum.

The night following the Astrologers set up, John Suetonius, another edict in this verse B O V L M F A C T V M, a cap. 1. as Vitellius Germanicus in venia condum kaledum dixit: quorum quantum us effe, which how it was verified in him that lived til the latter end of December following, I would gladly have the Astrologers themselves to calculate unto us: especially an example whereof all their books are full; And to say the truth, Zonaras lemeth to give some patronage to them, and Cyprianus, who faid the edict was published after Vitelius came to Rome, whereas by Tacitus it should seem rather to be fent from Lions. His words be these, ut vi omnes sepultum esse vietum et mortem simul abierit, ut opus accordis, et ut do Provinciarum, quibus in actu noster foret, ut antiquos inimicos non videretur in hostes, ut in formibus, et ut in commodiis. That is, being come to Rome he published an edict wherein he cried the Astrologers, charging them before such a day (naming the time) to depart out of Italy, and they to requite him in the like fashion to depart from them that he should before such a day depart out of this life. As in truch he did.

XXI. Vitellius voyage from Lions into Italy by Turin, Pavia, Cremona, Brescia, and so to Bononia, and the actions which happened in the mean way.

As Vitellius was departed from Lions, Marcus Cluvius Rufus leaving his charge in Spaine overtaketh him, carrying joy and gratulation in countenance, but heavinesse in his heart, knowing that he had been shot at, and matter put up against him. Hilarius the Emperours Freed-man had articled against him, that hearing of Vitellius and Othoes contention for the Empire, he had endeavoured to erect a sovereignty of his own, and affure to himselfe the posseffion of Spaine: and therefore had named in the beginning of his * Commission no Prince: w* although granted and fealed by the Governors of the Provinces, yet the style was 28 from the Prince, and in the Prince name were the Commissions directed. * Tac. 4. 14.
ever they were overcome: that in the battell at Bebriacum the Vexillaries onely were put to flight, the strengt of the Legion being not present. Wherefore it was thought expedient to send them back into Britanny, from whence they were called by Nero; and in the meane time, that they and the cohorts of Batavians should quarter together, by reason of the ancient jarring between them. Neither could they, having both weapons in hand and hating each other so deadly, agree long together. At Turin as one of the Batavians quarrelled with an Artificer, as having confounded him, and a Legionary soldier took his part, and defended him as being his Hoat, their companions sorting themselves each to their fellow, from bitter words pisset to blows: and a bloody battel had been fought, had not two Praetorian cohorts taken the Legionaries part, and so much increased their strength, that the Batavians were forced for feare to give over. Upon which accident Vitellius commanded to unite to his traine the Batavians, as well-willers to the cause, and to send the Legion away and conducit it over the Graian Alpes, by the way that missed Vienna; for they of Vienna also were had in a jealousie. That night the Legion removed, fires being left here and there negligently unput out, part of Turin was burnt: which damage, as many other bad effects of that warre, greater calamities of other Cities did utterly blot and put out of remembrance. The Legion having passed the Alpes, some of the most feditious among them caried their ensignes toward Vienna; but by the confent of the better fort they were staid, and so the Legion was transported into Britanny. The next faire that Vitellius had, was of the Praetorian Cohorts. And first they were separated: then in good fort and courteously caled, with commandement to deliver up their armour to the Tribunes; and so they remained untill such time as the war was begun by Vespasian: then they restored arms and were the strengt of the Flavian side. Of the other Legions the first furnamed Clessica was sent into Spaine, that by peace and rest it might wax tractable: the eleventh and sevant were returned to their standing Campes: the thirteenth set a work to build Amphitheaters: for Cæcina at Cremona, and Valens at Bononia made preparation to set forth a swcrew of Fencers: Vitellius being never so attentively addicted to serious affaires, that he would forget his pastimes and pleasures. And thus with good moderation he put them afunder. In the winning side a mutiny arose upon a sporting beginning, but that the number of them which were slain made it a matter of carnelt, and the whole warre more odious. Vitellius was in Ticianum at a banquet, and with him Verginius. The Lieutenants and Tribunes are frugall and rigorous, according to the Princes dispositions: in like fort the fouldiers severe or dissolute: in Vitellius traine all was disorderly and full of drunkenesse, more like to Wakes and feasts of Bacchus, then to a Campe where discipline should be. It happened that two fouldiers one of the first Legion, another a French Auxiliary, upon a jolity challenged one another to wrestle: and when as the Legionary was thrown, the Frenchman infulting over him, and they look on divided themselves into sides, the Legionary fouldiers taking themselves to their weapons made havock of the Auxiliaries, and flew two Cohorts of them. The remedy of this tumult was another tumult: Duff and glibstering of Armou was seen affer off: and suddenly it was noised in the Army, that the fourteenth Legion was returned with intention to fight: but it was their own reward; which being perceived, that care was ended. In the mean season, as one of Verginius servants 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 suspicions and fearfull, and notwithstanding they demanded the death of so honourable a personage, and one which had once been their Generall, yet were they hardly appeased. Neither was there any man so oft shot as Verginius in all seditions and mutinous assemblies: the admiration and fame of the man remained amongst them; but they hated him deadly, because he had contemned their offer. The day following Vitellius gave audience to the Senats Embassage, which he willed there to attend him; and going from thence to the Campe, he spake to the fouldiers, commending their dutifull disposition, and tender carefulneffe over his person: but the Auxiliaries fretted and fumed to fee the Legionaries grown to that height of inflencie, and no punishment inflicted upon them. Whereupon the Cohorts of Batavians, left they should attempt some desperat act, were sent back again into Germany; the course of affaires fatally tended by dint of minister matter, as well to a forrein war, as to a civill. The French Auxiliaries also were turned home to their countreys; an excessive number, and straight continued by the rebellion of the French. Tacit. Hist. 9. 5. Exsilvius writeth that in the bartels about Cremona on both sides 4000 men were slain, Tacitus following the precedent of Sallust never or more feldom feteth down the number. And not now in the Roman princes, but Suet. de ceasare not in Galba's, 8. per anné 1st extrema fidemque opuscula ei otiam debeatur. 

Barely by, an excessive number, and straight continued by the rebellion of the French. Tacitus Hist. 9. 5. Exsilvius writeth that in the bartels about Cremona on both sides 4000 men were slain, Tacitus following the precedent of Sallust never or more seldom seteth down the number. And not now in the Roman princes, but Suet. de ceasare not in Galba's, 8. per annum extrema fidemque opuscula ei autiam debeatur.

But Vitellius as a man without all compassion turned not away his eies, nor had not in horror to see fo many thousands of unburied Citizens: but contrariwise joynd, and ignorantly of his own lot which followed no shortly, he make the solemn sacrifice (3) 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: & the nearer Vitellius came to the City, the more diffolute and corrupt was he and his Company, Stage-plaiers associating themselves to the traine, & droves of Eunuchs, and the rest of the Buffons of Nerones Court. For Vitellius was an admirer alfo of Nero himselfe, and was wont to attend and follow him as he did finge, not by compulsion...
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compulsions 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 Cacina might obtaine some void months that year to be Confuls in, certaine others were abridged of their time: M. Macer was passed over because he had beene a Captain of Othoes side: Valerius Marinus whom Galba appointed was put over to another time, not upon any dislike, but because he was of a soft nature, and would gently put up a wrong. Pedanius Cofta was omitted being disliked of the Prince, because he had attempted against Nero, pricked Verginius forward; but Vitellius alladged other causes, and according to the servile custome of that time great thanks were given him before.

1. Wakes and feasts of Bacchus; Persegleia, wakes and solemnities by night, in honor of some god, during some times for many nights together, in which indeed was practised all kind of dissoluteness and indolency. Vinum & nox, & misiifruini maris, etatistimeram majoribus diis trimenom omnepudori, extinriisent, as Livy speaketh. Of which kind in the Common-wells of Greece were many, and many abuses growing thereof, as may well apparche out of the Comedies of such times. And Plautus was abridged of their time; M. Macer was passed over because he had beene a Captain of Othoes side: Valerius Marinus whom Galba appointed was put over to another time, not upon any dislike, but because he was of a soft nature, and would gently put up a wrong. Pedanius Cofta was omitted being disliked of the Prince, because he had attempted against Nero, pricked Verginius forward; but Vitellius alladged other causes, and according to the servile custome of that time great thanks were given him before.

2. With Roses and Bay, erected. Altars uponthecomingofKingsandgreatperſonages, the custome was to straw the wayes with flowers. Herod. lib. 4. at Caracalla's entry into Alexandria; Therapio was the most beautiful person of the whole company. That is, they honoured the Emperor with torches and burning of flowers, and lib. 5. at the coming of Commodus to Rome, 32. it was ordered that all the men in the street should salute the Emperor with cornucopias, and the like, having grapes and garlands in their hafts, and such manner of burdens: The day that he entered was on the 12th day of March. That is, as he approached near the city, all the Senate, and generally as many as dwelt in Rome came forth, and met him every man as far off from the city as possibly he could, bearing garlands and inviting all sorts of flowers in season. Claudianus Panegy. 5. de Stilicone.

3. To the godsoftheplace; In that religion every wood and field had his local god, without whose goodness your no humane action could in that place have any happy successe. So in Neros time for fear secret in Histria, because there the villains and poiffeonions of the old Craffi and the affection toward the name did remaine. So certaine lewd persons being asume to furnish the play, the credulous common people, and some of theouldiers, upon ignorance of the truth, or else defirous of troubles, began to associat themselves unto him apace: but their Captain was intrapped anon and brought before Vitellius, and being examined what manner of man he was, when as they found
of Cornelius Tacitus.

found no truth in his answers; and that he was owned by his master by name and quality Geta a fugitive bond-man, he was executed after the manner of slaves.

XXIII. Vespasian swore to Vitellius: then taketh upon himself the Empire in Jewry.

IT is scarcely credible how greatly Vitellius grew in pride and slothfulness, when as the soldiers sent for that purpose brought word out of Syria and Jewry, that the East had sworn allegiance unto him. For Vespasian, albeit only upon a flying report without any certain author, was in every man's 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 lust, in oppression, brake out into barbarous and forrein behaviour. But Vespasian in the mean season laying his plot for the war, entred into consideration of the forces both near and farre off. His own soldiers, were so ready in his behalfe, that when he began them the oath and withed all pretentie to Vitellius, the soldiers answered with silence, without either good will or good word. Mutianus was not alien from Vespasian, and toward Titus very well affected. Alexander the governour of Egypt had entred into the confederacie. The third Legion, because it was transferred out of Syria into Moesia, Vespasian reckoned as his own: and the rest of the Illyrian Legions it was hoped would follow. For the inofent behaviour of the soldiers which came from Vitellius, with their proud gestures and looks, and rude speeches, despising all others as base and inferiors, had wonderfully offended all the armies beside. But to enter into so weighty a war was a point not so quickly resolved upon: and Vespasian albeit he hoped the best, forecast sometimes the worst in his minde: what a day would that be for him, in the which he should commit to the mercy of the war himself of three score yeares of age, and his two sons in the flower of their youth? that in private attempts a man might proceed and stop where he listed: but to them which desired the Empire there was no middle course, between the state of a Prince and the death of a Traitor. Furthermore he laid before him the puissance of the German army, a matter well known unto him: being a martial man: that his Legions had never made trial of themselves in a civil war, whereas they of Vitellius had been conquours therein: and the conquered party abounded more in complaints than in forces and strength. Moreover that in civil diffention the faith of the soldiers was fleeting: and that there was peril to be feared from every particular man. For what would Cohorts and Wings availe, if one or two, to attaine the reward proposed by the other side, would desperately venture to kill him? So Scribonianus was slain under Claudiua, and so his murderer Volaginus of a common soldier was preferred to the highest places of service. For that was a more easie matter to incite all in generall, then to beware of every one in particular. As he seemed to waver towns, and moved with these feares, both the other Lieutenants with the rest of his friends fought 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 themselves, whether that which is undertaken be profitable to the Commonwealth, honorable for themselves, and easie to be effected, or at least not greatly difficult: with all the party that perswadeth unto it, it is to be considered, whether beside bare words and advice he adjoyne his own perill thereto, yea or no: and if fortune do favour the attempt to whom the principall glory accrueuth. I call you Vespasian to the taking of the Empire, a matter as much
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much for the safeguard of the Common-wealth, as for your own honour. Next af-
ter the gods it is in your hand to attain it: and fear not as though I said it to flat-
ter; it is more near a disgrace then a praife to be chozen after Vitellius. We rife not
gainst Augustus, a man of that deep inflight, nor against the wary old age of Tibe-
trins, nor against the house of Caius, or Claudius, or Nero rootted by so many de-
scents in the Empire: you gave place alo to the ancientneffe of Galbaes house; to
sleep any longer and abandon the State to be in this fort polluted and ruined, were
a loth and cowardife, yea although to live in that slavery were as safe for you, as it
is dishonourable; which indeed is not fo. The time is already" gone and fore-pat
when you might seem to have for ambition defired the Empire: the Empire muft
now be your sanctuary and refuge. Have you forgotten how Corbulos was murde-
red? a man of greater liunge then we are, I grant: and so was Nero likewise then
Vitellius. He that is feared is always noble enough in his conceit that doth feare: "
that it may be made by the fouldiers abroad, Vitellius himfelfe hath
" shewed the way; a man otherwife which never served in field, never attained to any
" military renown, but preferred onely upon a diflike of Galba, and now so disliked
" himself, that Otho, whom he overcame, not by stratageme or strength, but by his
" own haftie cafting away of himself, is become a notable Prince and much wished
" for: whereas Vitellius in the mean time disperseth the Legions, disfarneh the Co-
horts, and miniftred daily new matter of war. His own fouldier if he had any cou-
rage or edge, it is dulled and worn away in tipling and brotheling houfes, and fol-
"owing the Princes example. You have out of Jewry, Syria, and Egypt nine com-
plete Legions in readines, not wafted by war, nor corrupted with mutinies; but a
souldier confirmed with practife and use, and hartned with happy exploits against
" foreign enemies. We have Navies, wings and Cohorts to strengthen our caufe,
" and Kings befide moft faithfull unto us: and that which is above all, your own ex-
perience and skill. Of my self I will not say much: this onely that I am not inferi-
our to Cecina and Valens: disdain not Mutianus for a helper, becaufe you have
" him not a competitor: I preferr my self before Vitellius, and you before me. Your
" house is beautified with triumpheall ornamentes, & adorned with two goodly yong
" men, the one already b capable of the Empire, and in his first service renowned
among the armies of Germany alfo: it were absurd for me not to yeeld up the Em-
pire to him, whose fonne I would surely adopt if my self were Emperour. Now as
" concerning the reward and the perill, they shall not be equally parted between us.
" For if we do overcome, I shall have that honour which you will affoord me: the
" danger and perill shall be alike to us both; or as it is better, rule you thence. Armies
" here, and commit over to me the war and uncertain events of the field. The con-
quered side liveth this day under better discipline, then the conqueroures, anger
" & hatred, & desire of revenge inflaming them to valor, whereas the other through
" pride and breach of discipline wax dullifh and blunt: whose secret and swelling
" wounds the war oft it self will open and disclofe: neither do I repose my self more
" upon your vigilant, frugall and discreet dealing, than upon the fluggifh, doltifh,
" and cruell proceeding of Vitellius. And befide all this our caufe is more justifiable
" in war then in peace: for they which deliberate to rebell, have rebelled. After the
Oration of Mutianus the rest came more boldly about him, exhorting and perswad-
ing him, and laying before him the Oracles and Prophecies, and the favourable
aspects of the heavens: neither was Vespasian void of that kinde of superition. For
afterward when he was Emperour, he had openly about him one Seleucus an Afro-
loger, to foretell and direct his affaires. Moreover certain old and ominous pre-
* About twen
ty seven years old.
of Cornelius Tacitus.

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fages came to his remembrance. A notable tall Cypreftree was in his ground, which suddenly fell down, and the day following rose up againe upon the same root and flourished, growing higher and better spread then before. That then by the consent of the Haruspices was shewed great and prosperous matters: who assur

ed him, when he was very young, of most high and honourable preferment. But at the first the Consulship, and triumphal ornaments, and the glory of the Jewish victory seemed to have fulfilled the prophecy; when he had attained to the, he believed then the Empire was portended thereby. Between Jewry and Syria lieth the Mount Carmelus, and so the god also is called, to whom according to the custome anciently received an Altar is erected, and all devote effe and reuerence shewed, but without either image or Temple. As Vespasian sacrificed there, fraught with secret hopes in his head, Basiliades the Priest often viewing and marking the en troiles, Whatsoever it is, quoth he, Vespasian, whom thou intendest, whether it be to build a house, or to enlarge thy possessions, or to increase the number of servants, it shall be effected: the gods do grant thee a great room, large limits and many men. These dark speeches were straight-waies noted and published, and now by the common voice of the people applied and confirmed: neither was there any thing more vulgar in every mans mouth, and especially in his own audience; as to them which depend upon hopes, such kinds of speeches are most used. From this conference they departed with full resolution, Mutianus to Antiochia, and Vespasian to Caesaria, the one being the head towne of Syria, the other of Judaea. The matter was first published, and Vespasian named Emperor at Alexandria by Tiberius Alexander, who made the most haste, and minutized the fouldiers their oath upon the first day of July, which day afterward was reputed and celebrated as the first day of his reigne, although his own Army of Jewry began not before the third of the same month: and then in his presence they swore with such affecion and heare, that they did not attend the coming of Titus his sonne out of Syria, who was a messenger of all matters between Mutianus and his father. The violence of the fouldier over-ruled 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 upon, a point in that case of most difficulty, that should speak the first word: hope and feare, reason and chance, diversely distracted their minde. Matters standing in these terrors, as Vespasian came out of his chamber, a few fouldiers after the wounded manner stood on a row, as to illustrate their Generall, but they faluted him Emperor: then the rest ran too and heaped upon him the names of Caesar and Augustus, and all titles of sovereign power. His concoits rose from apprehension of feare to the consideration of his fortune, notwithstanding these appeared in him no token of pride and arrogancy, nor change in so great a change; but being amaz ed at the sudden fight of so great a multitude, as soon as he had recovered his spirit he spake unto them fouldier-like: and being received with a joyfull applause, he sent word to Mutianus of his successe. Mutianus at Antiochia receiving the mes sage which he looked for, called the fouldiers to the oath for Vespasian, which they most willingly accepted. Then he went to the Theatre, where the manner of that towne is to meet and consult: and made a speech unto them, as they flockked and fawnd about him, in their own language, as he was a man competently eloquent in the Greek tongue also; and one that had the art to make the most shew of whatsoever he spake or did. But above all, that incensed principally both the Province and the Army, which Mutianus affirmed, that Vitellius had determined to transferre the Germane Legions into Syria, a rich and quiet service; and of the Contrary
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 fouldiers company, to whom they were enured, and with whom many of them were linked in affinity and kindred; and the fouldiers likewise loved the place of their settled Campes, as their own homes, being grown familiar with them, by reason of their long service there. Before the fifteenth of July all Syria had received the same oath. Moreover Sohemus with his Kingdomes adjoynd himselfe to the cause, a man of great forces; and Antiochus of wealth of long gathering, and of all the subject Kings the richest. Agrippa also, upon secret advertisemens from his friends, departed from Rome untoares to Vitellius, and failed 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 beloved of the old Vespasian also, in respect of the great and rich gifts which she gave. All the Provinces which bordered on the Sea, as far as Asia and Achaia, and all the inlands to Pontus and Armenia, received the oath: but the Lieutenants thereof were without Armies, for as yet Cappadocia had no Legions assigned.

1 The Theatre, where the manner of that town is to meet and consult, For so all the Graecian Cities used to doe, as appeareth both by the Greeks Orators and Historiographers; a thing noted also by Aulius Luscus cap. xxiv.

2 The number of Jews when he was ten by his Father, and when Titus upon the message of Galba's death removed back again from Civitas, Agrippa notwithstanding, faith Tert. lib. 4. cap. 43. yews in their place, we ought somewhat principlum here genitals, faith our common Historians, cap. 31.

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

Berytus was elected for the place of their principall consultations. Thither Mutianus with the Lieutenants and Tribunes repaired, and the chiefeft of the Centurions and fouldiers, and certaine choice persones out of the Jewish Army. So many footmen and horsemen together, and so great preparations of Kings striving to exceed one another made a show of a Princes estate. The first provision for warre was to levy more men, and revoke the old fouldiers which were discharged: certaine strong Cities were appointed out to make Armour therein: at Antioch gold and siver was coined: and in all these severall workes great speed and diligence used by the means of good over-seers. Vespasian also would go in his owne person and encourage them, inciting the good by praiie, the flow by example rather then correction, more ready to concerne the vices of his friends then the vertues: many he rewarded with Captaines and Procurators places, many he advanced to be Senatours, 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 donatives to the fouldiers, neither did Mutianus in his first oration make any mention but sparingly thereof, nor Vespasian make any offer of greater in civil warre, then others were wonted in peace: a man notable and firme against these laviings to fouldiers, and therefore having his Army better in order. Moreover Emba-
Embassadors were sent to the kings of Parthia and Armenia to conclude a surcease of arms, left while the Legions were intentive upon the civil war, those nations should assault the frontiers behind. It was agreed that Titus should prosecute the Jewish war, and Vespasian should put himself in possession of the strength of Egypt. Against Vitellius it was thought sufficient to send a part of the host, and Mutianus to lead them, and the name of Vespasian, and the favour of fate, which findeth or maketh a way through all lets. Then letters were written to all the Lieutenants and armies, and order given out to invite the Praetorian foilliers, which hated Vespasian, upon promise of restitution to their places. Mutianus with an army not encumbered with carriage, bearing himself rather as the Emperours fellow then as a servant marched forward, not very stoutly, left he should seem for fear to delay, nor yet very hastily, but gave time for the fame of the action to grow, knowing that his strength was not much, and that men believe always greater matters of things which are absent: but there followed a great troupe, the sixth Legion, and thirteenth thousand Vexillaries. The fleet he commanded to passe out of Pontus, and meet him at Byzantium, being half in a minds to leave Moesia, and with his horsemen and footmen directly to go to Dyrrhachium, and with all his ships of warre to shut up the sea toward Italy, leaving Achaia and Asia behind him in safety; which, unless they were guarded with sufficient power, being without armes would ly open to Vitellius, and that by that means Vitellius himself would stand in doubt what part of Italy to protect, if at one instant Brundunium and Tarentum, and the coasts of Lucania and Calabria should be infested by enemies fleets. Thus the provinces were busily occupied in provision of ships, men, and armour; but the greatest difficulty was to get money: which Mutianus affirming to be the finewsof warre, respeted not law or equitie in judgements, but only what way to procure maffes of money. Crimes were daily devised against men of most wealth, and they spoiled: which manner of dealing being of itself grievous and intolerable, but in some fort excusable by the necessity of the warre, remained also in peace afterward. For Vespasian himself, albeit at the beginning of his Empire he was not so obstinately bent to attain unreasonable matters, yet upon his continuall prosperity, and taught by ill masters, he took forth a bad lesson, and used it boldly. With his own purse also Mutianus furthered the warre, conferring privately that, which he would in more ample measure repay himself out of the common. The rest following his example in contributing of money, few or none had the grace to receive it again with the like vantage.

1 Berytus] By the circumstances in the story of Jospehus it may seeme, that here at Berytus was the first meeting of Vespasian and Mucianus, and that before all was dealt between them by the mediation of Titus, whom we finde in Tacitus absent with Mucianus in Syria, which had not needed if they had met before, and the matter been concluded upon. Surely in Tacitus of their first meeting no place is set downe, and it may seeme strange how two Lieutenans Generall could come personally together before the warre was openly undertaken. But they not coming together before their open declaration in armes, there had beene no place left for that good occasion, which Tacitus meant howsoever to bellow on Mucianus: although for the truth of the story, and the circumstances of matters which pased in Jewry, and Syria, I am content to believe Jospehus better, who, as I have said, was an eyewitness of the whole action.

2 Marched forward] Jospehus 4, 40, 1 1 Samu. 8. 4 (in d) ου δοθη αυτην την ανασυγκαταστασιν η δοθη σε αυτην την ανασυγκαταστασιν α εν αυτην την ανασυγκαταστασιν την την η ευλογησαμεν την ευλογησαμεν α ανασυγκαταστασιν. That is, Mutianus fearing to commit himselfe to the sea because it was the deep of winter, brought his army by land through Phrygia and Mysia. How it could be possible, the deepes of winter, when as without question the warre was begun sometime in July, or at the furthest in the beginning of August, I cannot imagine. 3 To leave Moesia and with his horsemen] It appeareth in the proceele of the story, that he took the way of Mesia of whole whole journey from Syria, till we finde him in the third book fighting with the Dacians, we have not one word set down about Tacitus; likewise after that action, till his entry into Rome, in the fourth book: points in my judgement very materiall in a good story, and greatly to the satisfaction of the Reader.
The affairs of Vespasian were in the mean season hastened forward by the Ilyrian armies affection toward the side. The third Legion gave example to the other two Legions of Moesia: the seventh named Claudiana, and the eight being wellwilers of Otho, albeit they were not present at the battle, but onlye come forward to Aquileia; at which place misusing the messengers that brought word of Othoes overthrow, 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 devised, that this kinde of dealing, which to Vitellius must have needed a long and solemn excuse, might to Vespasian be set up and reckoned as a favour and benefit. So the three Moesian Legions, thus concurring in one, by letters invited the Pannonian army to the cause, or if they refused, prepared to force them. In that tumult Aponius Saturninus Lieutenant general of Moesia endeavoured to commit a most wicked act, sending a Centurion to murder Tertius Julianus Lieutenant of the seventh Legion, upon private grudges, pretending the publike cause of the sides. Julianus understanding of the danger, and taking guides skillfull in the country, fled by the deports of Moesia, beyond the mount Hemus, and afterward was not present in the civil warre of the one side or other: protracting the journey he tooke to Vespasian by divers delays, and as the occurrences were, making lesse speed or more. But in Pannonia the thirteenth Legion, and seventh named Galbiana, retaining the anger and griefe of the losse at Bebriacum, without any stay joyned themselves 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 seventh Legion. He was supposèd to have written divers letters to Otho, offering his service for a Captaine to the side; of whom being not regarded, he was not that warre in any employment: but when as Vitellius estate began to decay, following Vespasian he added great weight to the cause, being a valiant man of his hands, of a ready utterance, a cunning craftsman to make other odious, in diffensions and mutinies pow'rable, a violent spoyler, a wastfull spender, in time of peace and quiet government insupportable, in warre not to be contemned. The Moesian and Pannonian armies, being thus joynd together, drew anon the Dalmatian soldier, albeit the Lieutenants generall sturred nothing at all. Titus Flavianus was Generall of Pannonia, and Pompeius Sullanus of Dalmatia, two wealthy old men: but there was in the country Cornelius Fuscus the Procurator, a man in the principal strength of his age, and of noble birth, who in his first years upon desire of eafe, had renounced his place in Senate, and afterward being Captaine of his colonie in favour of Galba, by that means attained a Procuratorship. This man, entering into the cause of Vespasian, became a principall firebrand of the warre, seeming to delight not so much in the rewards of perils, as in the perils themselves, and in stead of certainties wherewith he was anciantly endued, chusing new and doubtfull uncertainties. So he affayeth to shake and stirre up whatsoever there was any were discontented, writing into Britain the the fourteenth Legion, into Spaine to the first, because they both had stood against Vitellius for Otho: letters also were sent abroad into France:
of Cornelius Tacitus.

France: and so in one moment there brake a great and mightie warre out, the Illyrian armies thus plainly revolting, and the rest inclining to follow, where fortune should favour.

1. Illyrian armies] Some learned men charge this narration here, and generally the story of the Actions between Vitellius and Vespasian, of great insufficientnes, imperfections, and confusions, whereas I doe in my judgment most clearely acquire. Illyricum was divided into three provinces: Medula, whereof at this time Aponius Saturnius was President or Lieutenant general; Pannonia, whereof T. Ampius Flavius was president, and Dalmatia, whereof Voppius Silvanus, or Pompeius Sullanus (for in both names we finde difference of writing) was president. In Medula were three Legions, tercia Gallica, octava Augusta, and septima Claudia led by three legati legionum, Lieutenants of Legions: Dillius Aponianus of the third, hist. 3. Numius Lupus of the eighth, hist. 3. and tertius Julianus of the seventh; who forsoaking his place, as appeareth in this place, Vipianus Metella undertooke the charge. hist. 3. In Pannonia there were at this present two Legions, septima Galliana whose Lieutenant was Antonius primus; and tercia decima Gemina sent back out of Italy from building of Amphitheatres, whose Lieutenant in this warre was Vedius Aquila, the same man who was also Lieutenant in the last warre; hist. 2. In Dalmatia there was none but only one Legion, namely undecima Claudia (the fourteenth being transported into Britain) whose Lieutenant was Annius Ballus. hist. 3. but the premisses considered, which are all exprized by Tacitus, I see not 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 book; and so likewise in the whole story of Tacitus, of all great actions I take that between Vitellius and Vespasian to be generally the most fully, and best set down, as the other between Otho and Vitellius the worst. Now for the time when Illyricum began to revolt from Vitellius, as in noting of times Tacitus is always to scant, Suetonius Vitellio somewhat releveth us, Ottavo imperii menente describitur ab eo exercitu cap. 15. Mediusique Pannoniae: so that it seemeth to have been begun in August, or perchance toward the latter end of July.

XXVI. Vitellius makest his entry into Rome.

While these things were a working in the provinces, by Vespasian and his adherents, Vitellius growing every day more contemptible and worthless, staying upon every place of pleasure in town and country with his troublesome traine marched toward the citie. Three score thousand armed men were in the company licentiously given, of lackeeyes and horsekeepers a greater number with infinite victuallers and followers of the camp, the most disolute of all others: beside the traines of so many Lieutenants and so many friends, out of all compass of obedience, yea although the governors had been men of great austerity and strictnesse. Moreover the Senators and gentlemen charged the train, who came out of the citie to meet him, some for fear, some for flattery, the rest and so all one after another for company, lest they should seeme to stay behind when other did goe. Thither restored also of the baser sort certaine well knowne to Vitellius by reason of unhonest services, which in time past they had done him, as buffons, stage-players and charet drivers; with which kinde of reprochfull acquaintance he was delighted wonderfully. Neither were the colonies onely or free townes impoverished by purveying of victuals for so huge a company; but the husbandmen themselves, and fields, the corn being now ripe, were spoyled and wafted as an enemy countrey. Many and cruel murders were committed by the fouldiers amongst themselves, by reason of the jarring which continued betwixt the Legions and Aydes, ever since the firre at Ticinum: against the Peaftants, or any third partie they agreed but too well: but the greatest slaughter was seven miles from the citie. At that place Vitellius distributed to his fouldiers, according to the fashion of Fencers diet, to every of them meat already dressed, and the common people, that came out of the citie to see it, had dispersed themselues throughout the whole campe. As the fouldiers gave no heed to lych matters, certaine peafants, after a kinde of homely jesting, cut away secretly their belts, & spoyled them thereof, asking in jesting manner, whether they were girded or no. The fouldiers fromch, not used to beare words of disgrace, could not digest that scorn: but with their swords

I a revenged
The second Book of the History

revened themselves upon the people which was without weapon: among others the father of one of the soldiers was slain as he accompanied his sonne: upon which accident perceived and noised abroad they refrained from shedding of innocent blood. Notwithstanding in Rome the terour was great; by reason of the soldiers running and gadding thither before. The place of common assembly they repaired specially to, coveting to behold the place where Galba was slain: when as they themselves were a spectacle no less horrible, with hides of wilde beasts about their backs, and huge masse javelins in their hands, falling to quarrelling, and from quarrelling to blows and their weapon, when as through their owne lacke of skill they did not avoid the preffe of the people, or chanc'd to fall by means of the slippery stones, or juffling of others. The Tribunes also and other Captains in terrible fort, with multitudes of armed men, went squaring and jetting the streets. Vitellius himselfe riding upon the Milvian bridge upon a gaddly courser with his coat armour on backe, and girded souldierlike, putting the Senate and people before him, had wellnigh made his entry as into a town taken by force, but being advised otherwise by his friends he laid aside his military attire, and taking his robes and souldierlike, putting the Senate and people before him, had wellnigh made his entry as into a town taken by force, but being advised otherwise by his friends he laid aside his military attire, and taking his robes and souldierlike, putting the Senate and people before him, had wellnigh made his entry as into a town taken by force, but being advised otherwise by his friends he laid aside his military attire, and taking his robes and souldierlike, putting the Senate and people before him, had wellnigh made his entry as into a town taken by force, but being advised otherwise by his friends he laid aside his military attire, and taking his robes and souldierlike, putting the Senate and people before him, had wellnigh made his entry as into a town taken by force, but being advised otherwise by his friends he laid aside his military attire, and taking his robes and souldierlike, putting the Senate and people before him, had wellnigh made his entry as into a town taken by force, but being advised otherwise by his friends he laid aside his military attire, and taking his robes and souldierlike, putting the Senate and people before him, had wellnigh made his entry as into a town taken by force, but being advised otherwise by his friends he laid aside his military attire, and taking his robes and souldierlike, putting the Senate and people before him, had wellnigh made his entry as into a town taken by force, but being advised otherwise by his friends he laid aside his military attire, and taking his robes and souldierlike, putting the Senate and people before him, had wellnigh made his entry as into a town taken by force, but being advised otherwise by his friends he laid aside his military attire, and taking his robes and souldierlike, putting the Senate and people before him, had wellnigh made his entry as into a town taken by force, but being advised otherwise by his friends he laid aside his military attire, and taking his robes and souldierlike, putting the Senate and people before him, had wellnigh made
of Cornelius Tacitus.

his High-priestship he published his edict of ceremonies upon the eighteenth of July; which thing in a citie which conformed all things was taken for an ill signe, the day being of ancient time: counted unlucky, by reason of the overthrowes at Cremera and Allia: ignorant he was of all law humane and divine, and for negligent were his friends & servants, as that he seemed to have none but drunken persons about him. Notwithstanding the election of Consuls he carried himself in a kinde of equality, seriously affecting in the Theatre as a spectator, in the Race as a partaker, the favour of the meanes fort; things acceptable indeed popularly, if they had sprung from a vertuous root; but the memory of his former life made them esteemed base and dishonourable. He came often into the Senate, even when small matters were handled; and as once by fortune Helvidius Priscus Praetor elect had opened against a matter which Vitellius affected, he was in choler at the first, but proceeded no further, but only to pray aid at the Tribunes of the people against the contempt of his authority. Whereupon Helvidius friends, who feared a deeper impression of anger in his minde, going about to mitigate and make up the matter, he answered that it was no new thing to see two Senators in the Common-wealth disagree in judgement: that he was also wont sometimes to dissent from Thrasea. Many derided the impiety of the comparison: others liked it well, that he had picked out not one of the powerable favorites in court, but Thrasea rather for a pattern of true glory. P. Sabinus and Julius Priscus were constituted captains of the Guard; Priscus by Valens preferment, and Sabinus by Caecinae. For Caecina and Valens disposed of all the affairs of the Empire, leaving between them little authority or none at all to Vitellius, and yet jarring and disagreeing together, anciently enemies one to the other: but the warre and the camp covered the rancour so for a season, which now brake out and was greatly increased by the perverse behaviour of friends, and living together in a city so fruitfull to breed and nourish dislikes, whilst they contend together, and are compared by others in multitude of suitors and followers, and greatness of train; Vitellius diversly favouring sometimes the one, sometime the other: as powerableness is never sure where it is too excessive. As for Vitellius, knowing him to be suddenly mutable upon every offence or flattery, they esteemed and feared him withall: notwithstanding whilst the time was they served themselves, and gat houses, gardens, and the riches of the Empire into their hands; when as the lamentable and indigent multitude of Noblemen, whom Galba with their children restored to their country, was not any way relieved by the princes liberality. Only he granted them their former right over their freed men: a point acceptable to the chiefe men of the citie, and not disallowed even of the meane fort: but those servile 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 fouldiers, when as the Praetorian camp was replenished, the remainder which was very great, lodged in porches and temples scattered up and down the whole town forgot to know their ensignes, to keepe watch and ward, to harden themselves with labour and travell: but drowned in the pleasures of the citie, and filthinesse not to be named, weakened their bodies with idlenesse, & their minde with incontinent living: and lastly without any care at all of their own health, many quartered in the pestilent places of the Vatican, wherupon the death of many common persons ensued: and the Germans and Frenchmen lying by the Tiber, and being otherwise subject to diseases, utterly overthrew the state of their body, with too much swimming in the river, and impatience of heat. Moreover the citie fouldiery was
was through indiscreetness or ambition corrupted. Sixteen Praetorian cohorts and
fourteene urbane were enrolled, containing a thousand men a piece. In preferring to
thofe roomes Valens presumed to beare greater stroak, as being the worthier man,
and having redeemed Cæcina himself out of peril: and in truth by his coming the
side was revived, and with so happy a battell he cancelled the hard opinion of his
flow coming forward: and all the fouldiers of low Germany followed Valens and
depended wholly upon him: upon which causes it is supposed that Cæcinæs faith
began first to be fleeting. Notwithstanding Vitellius yielded not so much to the
Captains, but that he yielded much more to the fouldiers pleasures: every one
chose his own place of service: were he never found worthy, if he liked it better
he was deputed to the citie service: again those which were fit were suffered, if they
lifed to remain in their former estate among the Legionaries or Auxiliary fouldi-
ers: which divers were willing to do being molested with sicknesse, and not able
to endure the heat of the country. Notwithstanding the Legions and Aides were
drawn of their principal strength, and the beautie of the Praetorian camp blemish-
ed, by this confusion rather then choice of twenty thousand out of the whole ar-
my. As Vitellius was making a solemne speech, the fouldiers required Asiaticus,
and Flavius, and Rufinus, captains of France to be executed, because they had ta-
taken arms in Vindex behalfe, neither did Vitellius restrained such speeches, be-
fides that he was a man of weak resitance by nature, knowing also that the day of his
do-
native was at hand, and the money wanting. Wherefore he granted liberally all o-
other requests to the fouldier: and to supply that defect the freedmen of the former
Princes were commanded to contribute, according to the number of their bond-
men: whereas Vitellius without other care, gave only to waste and consume, build-
ing up stables for charret-drivers, filled the Race with spectacles of offenders and wild
beasts, and as in greatest abundance cast money moliely away. Furthermore
Cæcina and Valens with great preparation, and such as before that time was never
seene, celebrated the birth day of Vitellius, with fhews " of Fence & in every street
throughout the whole citie. One thing much grieved the good, as it cheered the
bad, that Vitellius erected altars in Campus Martius, and there celebrated solemn-
ly the execues of Nero, the beasts for the sacrifice were publikely slain and burnt:
The Augustales put to the fire: which order of Priefts Tiberius Caesar consecrate-
d to the Julian family, as Romulus did another the like to king Tattius. It was not
yet fully foure moneths since the victory, and Asiaticus Vitellius freedman had
fully done as much harme, as ever had any Polycletus, or Patriobius, or whatfoever
most odious name in former courts. No man in that court sought to rife by vertue
or ablenesse: the only way to credit was with prodigall banquetts, and sumptuous
cheere to flatter the unstable appetites of Vitellius; who contenting himselfe to
enjoy the present, and caring not any further, is thought in foure moneths, to have
wafted nine hundred millions of seftercs: a great and miserable citie, which in
the fame yeere supported an Otho and a Vitellius; and that which is more in sup-
portable, a Vinius, a Fabius, and Icelus, and Asiaticus, in great variety of moft igno-
minious forts, untill such time as Murianius and Marcellus, and rather other men
then other manners succeeded in place.
of Cornelius Tacitus.

will they on it begin any serious matter, in respect of the ill fortune that had happened that day to the city.

1. In the election of Consuls: Comitia Consulorum cum candidatis civicibus celebrantr. What by comitia Consulorum should be meant in this place, the people being at this time excluded from all voices in elections, either I do not conceive, or else comitia Consulorum civicibus celebrantur is but as much, as munera a candidatis consularibus dedit (whether it were himself or any other) civicibus celebrantur. In the free state the suiters for offices, to win the people favour and good will, summoned gladiators, till it was by a law, expressly by Tully to that purpose enacted, forbidden, and brought within the comitia Consulorum. Ego legem de ambivibus I. E. c. t. v. quod dixisse vetat hic enim quod quis pretium se fidem esse gladiatoribus dare miste reformandum. But after they had estranged their fleet, it was then not lawful only, but necessarily incident to most offices to exhibit to the people all sorts of games and plays, and accordingly they performed it with all magnificence and cost. Under the Emperours, albeit no part of the election of any officer depended upon the peoples favour, yet both candidates, and designati, and actual officers continued to minisiter to the people their accustomed pleasures of gladiators, circensibus, &c. containing wherein by all possible means to win the good will of the people. In the time of Alex. Mam. Que. candidati munera populi dierunt. In Novae time, Que. forensibus gladiatoribus munera necessa erat, quae consulis habuerit edidisse. Whether it were himself or any other civiliter celebrem. Now to be present at these shows was accounted great popularitie in the Prince. Xiph. de Oth. eit unde quam eum consilium ille nomen suum non timuerit. That is, He used much the theatre, to win the arts of the multitude. *Sueton. de Aug. Leg. Cor. &c. cap. 15. senes spectabant spectaculum plurimum horas, aliquando tenuit ad aedem. Tacit. Ann. de c. e. *id est, insigniter sed dominans in principi. That is, He used much the theatre, to win the arts of the multitude. *Sueton. de Aug. Leg. Cor. &c. cap. 15. senes spectabant spectaculum plurimum horas, aliquando tenuit ad aedem. Tacit. Ann. de c. e. *id est, insigniter sed dominans in principi. That is, He used much the theatre, to win the arts of the multitude. *Sueton. de Aug. Leg. Cor. &c. cap. 15. senes spectabant spectaculum plurimum horas, aliquando tenuit ad aedem. Tacit. Ann. de c. e. *id est, insigniter sed dominans in principi. That is, He used much the theatre, to win the arts of the multitude. *Sueton. de Aug. Leg. Cor. &c. cap. 15. senes spectabant spectaculum plurimum horas, aliquando tenuit ad aedem. Tacit. Ann. de c. e. *id est, insigniter sed dominans in principi. 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had a war of his own to care and provide for. Vectius Bolanus governed in Britannia, a country never so quiet, that he could conveniently spare any number of soldiers; and beside neither of them were greatly faft to the side. Out of the Spains also small hafte was made: at that time there was no Lieutenant general there, but only the Lieutenants of three Legions of equall authority; who as in Vectilius prosperitie we would have contended who should have been foremost, so now in his declining estate they equally drew backe. In Africke the legion and cohorts levied by Clodius Macer, and straitly dismisst by Galba, began by Vitellius commandement to resume their service againe: and withall the whole youth of the province voluntarily gave in their names to be soldiers: for Vitellius had governed as a Proconfull there with good integritie and liking, Vespasian with as much insafie and hatred of the country; and accordingly our allies presumt, they would carry themselves in the Empire: but the triall was otherwise. And at the beginning Valerius Feftus the Lieutenant furthered faithfully the endeavours of those of the province: but anon he faultred, in letters and edicts openly pretending Vectellius, and with secret mesages intertaining Vespasian, meaning to defend the one side, or the other, according as they should happen to prosper. Some Centurions and soldiers were taken in Rhoeria and France with letters and edicts of Vespasian about them, and being sent to Vitellius were flain: but more escaped passing undiscovered by the secretnesse of friends, or by their own shifting. So the preparatons of Vettellius were known abroad: Vespasians purposes were for the most part unknown, partly thorow the negligence of Vectellius, and partly because the Pannonian Alpes were kept with garrisone, which stayed all mesengers: and at the sea the Etefians blew a good wind to faile Eastward, and contrary from thence.

2 Olympiodorus seemeth to have read the place of Aristotle thus: Βυτελλίῳ πρωτογονείαν Πανόπλειον συγκεκομένων αὐτῷ Γαλλίαν ἔδωκεν. Plutarch ἡ τοιοῦτος ἔκδοσις τοῦ Βυτελλίου τιμίως εἰς τὸν Πανόπλειον συγκεκομένως ἔδωκεν. (see Apollodorus.)

1 Vitellius had governed as Proconfull.] In administranda provincia (Africa) singularum innocentiam profisit (Vitellius) saith Suetonius Vitellio cap. 5, agreeing with Tacitus: but in Vespasian he disfaggret verily, Tacitus faith here, summis instatutis proconsulatum in Africa Vespasianum esse. Suetonius Vespasiano cap. 4. Etsi fortunis Africae (Vespasiani) interrimus ut fact magna dignitatis administravit.
of Cornelius Tacitus.

horses unlofty: the souldier impatient of the sunne, the dust, and the weather, and the more dull to sustaine travell, the aeter to mutin. And beside, the qualities of Cæcina wrought no small prejudice to the cause: his ambitious and popular proceeding, an old fault of his, a sluggissh and dull disposition, lately sprung up: whether it were that too much favour of fortune turned his edge, and caused him to degenerate to riotous life, or that intending even then treason in his minde, he thought it good policy by that means to weaken the valour and force of the army. Many have believed that Cæcinaes minde was shaken and altered first by a practic of Flavius *Brother to Sabinus, Rubrius Gallus carrying the message betweene them, and promising that Vespaian should ratifie all covenants made and agreed in case of revolt: and withall he was put in remembrance of the hatred and emulation between 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 dismis-

Read fifteenth, one of
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 British legions, and the chofe 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 between him and Cæcina: who being present, and therefore of greater authoritie, falsely alleaged, that upon latter advise that purpose was changed, to the end that reluctance might be made with the whole forces united against the enemies coming. So the Legions were commanded to make speed to Cremona, and part to goe to Hostilia. Cæcina himself turned out of the way to Ravenna, upon pretence to give direction to the navy: and so to Padova, where secretly the treason was contrived between Lucilium Bassus and him. For Lucius Bassus after the Captainship of a wing, being made Admi-

mirall of both the fleets at Ravenna and Misenum, because he was not by and by created Captain of the Guard, revenged his unjust anger with wicked disloyaltie: neither can it be certainly known, whether he drew Cæcina into the action, or the same vile minde induced them both, as it happeneth often lewd persons to be of like conditions. The histories written of this warre, under Vespaian and his children, have delivered false and flattering cauethes, as that desire of peace and love of the Commonwealth moved them thereto. To me it seemeth, beside the inconstant disposition of the men, and the small account of their faith, which once being falsely to Galba, afterward they never respected; that upon emulation and envy that others should goe before them in the Princes favour, they compassed the destruction of the Prince himself. When Cæcina had overtaken the Legions, he fought by sundry subtle practises to weaken the good wills of the Centurions, and of the souldiers which were obstinately bent for Vitellius; Bassus attempting the like found not the like opposition, the navy being easily induced to change their loyalty, upon the memory of their late service for Otho.

THE
I. The consultation of the Flavian Captains, at Petovio in Pannonia, concerning the manner of proceeding in warre.

Sextilius Felix sent into Noricum.

§I. It better fortune and faith the Flavian captains conducted their warlike affairs, assembling in counsell at Petovio, the standing campe of the thirteenth Legion. There it was debated, whether it were safer to stand upon their defence, and fortifie themselves by stopping the passage of the Pannonian Alpes, untill 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 Italy. They which perswaded to stay for more succour, and protract the warre, amplifed the fame and force of the German legions, and further, that Vitellius had also brought with him the flower and strength of the army of Britain: that their own Legions were both fewer in number, and lately beaten; and though they spake bigly, yet the partie overcomne retained the lesse courage. But in the meantime while if the Alpes were possesed Mutianus would shortly come on with the power of the East: and Vespasian beside had at will sea and navies, and the good will of the provinces, sufficient furniture for a new warre if need were: so by staying a little this advantage would grow, that new forces would come, and the old not diminishe. To this Antonius Primus (who was the chiefest inciter of the warre) replyed; That speed was the thing that might most helpe them, and most hinder Vitellius. As for the victory they lately obtained, they were growne more in carelesse sloth, then courage thereby: not keeping in camps as men of warre always ready to fight, but lying in the good townes of Italy, loytryng and disporting themselves, feared of none save onely their holts: and the hardlier kept and fiercer they were before, now giving themselves the more greedily over to enjoy their unaccustomed pleasures. Moreover the theatres and places of sports, and other delights of the citie, had effeminated their mindes, or dises utterly wafted their bodies: but if respite were given, through warlike exercises they would recover their strength: and besides, Germany 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, horse, and money: beside Italy it selfe, and the wealth of the world in Rome, all wholly at their disposition. And if they lift to begin and affaile us, they have (quoth he) at commandment two navies, and the whole Illyrian seafree: what will it then profit us to keep the straits of the mountains? or what can it availe us to deferre the warre till another summer? and whence shall we have money and victuals in the mean time? Nay rather why take we not this opportunitie present, since the Pannonian Legions, thinking themselves rather beguiled then beaten, are so instant and earneft to have their revenge, and the armies of Moesia are yet entire & unfoiled? if the number of soldierys be reckoned rather then the names of Legions, our side hath more strength and much leffe disorder, and the very flame of the late overthrow hath greatly amended...
ded our discipline: and yet our horsemen even then were not defeated, but contrary scattered Vitellius troupes, albeit the maine battell went against us. Two wings of Pannonia and Moesia were able at that time to breake thorow the enemy: now the ensignes of sixteene wings united together, with their stamping and sound, and the very dust of their feet, will double be able to cover and overwhelm 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 advice, so I will be the first to execute the same. You, whose conditions gives you free choice of either, lye still and keepe your Legions at home; some few * light cohorts * shall serve my turne: as soone as the warre is begun, you shall heare that Vitellius state will decline, and then you will take pleasure to follow and tread in the steps of my victory. This and more to the like purpose Antonius uttered with burning eyes and fierce shrill voice, that he might be heard further (for some of the Centurions, and of the soldiers also had intruded themselves into the councell) and the speech moved greatly even the wariest amongst them and doubtfull left to enter into danger. But the common soldiour and the rest magnified him, as the onely man of courage, and the onely Captaine; despising the cold and sluggish proceedings of the other. This good opinion he first won through a speech he made in the assembly when Vespasians letters were first openly read, in the which he did not (as the most of the rest) deliver his minde in doubtfull and ambiguous termes with a meaning to interpret them afterward as he should see best for his purpose, but seemed directely and resolutely to enter into the cause, & therefore was a great deale better liked of the soldiours, as one that made his fortune common with theirs both in the danger and honour of the attempt. Next after him Cornelius Fuscus the Procurator was of chief authority amongst them. For he likewise was wont to invey bitterly against Vitellius, and thereby had left to himself no hope of pardon if the enterprize failed. Titus * Apius Flavius, both by nature and by reason of his age being slow in proceeding, gave occasion unto the soldiours of suspicion, as if he had respected his affinitie with Vitellius: and because he had withdrawn himself out of the camp when the Legions began first to revolt, and afterward came again of his own accord, it was thought he did it to seek some opportunittie of treason. For indeed Flavius had once relinquished his province of Pannonia, and retired himselfe out of danger into Italy, and afterward by desire of noveltie was brought to take uppon him his government again, and became a medler in civill wars, through the periwation principally of Cornelius Fuscus; not that there was any great need of Flavius abilities: but that the name and countenance of a Lieutenant generall might give reputation to the side, that was then but in rising. Then letters were written to Aponius Saturnius Lieutenant generall of Moesia, to make haste, and back their passage into Italy with his army. And left the provinces, by this removing away of the Legions, might lye open to the spoile of the barbarous nations confining, the principal men of the Sarmate Jazyges, and heads of the country were affumed into the service, who made offer also of the common fort, & great troupes of horsemen, which is their sole strength, but the offer was not accepted, lest amidst our dissensions they should attempt any thing prejudicial to the state of the Empire, or else upon better wages, without respect of honour or faith, passe to the enemy. Sido and Italicus anciently devoted to the Romane name, kings of the Suevians, a nation both more faithful and more obedient, were drawn to the party. Garrifons also were layed on the side against Rhetia which held for Vitellius, being governed by Portius Septimus the Procurator, a most faithful servant unto him. So Sextillus 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 banke of the river Enus which divideth Rhœsia and Noricum asunder: where they remained skirmishing one with another, whilest in the mean time the maine matter was decided elsewhere.

And left the provinces
All from these words in the Latine copy as ne inermes provincie, &c. to these places Galbe principatus, inclusive, should be placed before, quæsitione unde quæ fides bella legentur &c. and to the words at inconstant exercitum Mæsiæm celebrare cohese &c. and 's to letters almost between quæsitione unde and Mæsiæm celebrare are equal to the lines between as ne inermes and Galbe
Principatus, may seeme to have grown first to the cause of transposition of a leaf in the copy, from whence all ours were derived.

II. Antonius Primus marcheth forward, and having taken Aquileia, Opitergium, Altinum, Padova, Este, setteth his maine camp at Verona.

Now Antonius taking with him certaine Vexillaries out of the cohorts, and part of the horſemen, marched on toward Italy, accompanied with Arrius Varus a valiant warrier, rather then a vertuous man: which glory he gained by his servisse and good successe in Armenia under Corbulo: whom notwithstanding he was supposed secretly to have discredited with Nero. Whereupon by such finiter means growing in favour he attained a principall Centurions place: which though ill gotten was at the present to his great contentation, 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 received. At Altinum a garrifon was left against the fleet of Ravena, of the revolt whereof they had not as yet received any intelligence: and marching forward they adjoynd Padova and Este to the side. Where advertisement was given that three Vitellian cohorts and the Scribonian wing lay at Forum Alieni, having there made a bridge over the river. It was concluded to take the occasion, and to set upon them, as they lay negligently and carelesly; for that circumstance also was certified: and so accordingly they came upon them at the dawning of the day, and surprized them being for the most part unarmed. 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 yielded themselves at the first: but the greater part fled over the river, and breaking the bridge cut off the paffage from the enemy pursuings. This victory being divulged, and the first attemptes of the Flaviani's having succeeded so prosperously, two Legions, the seventeenth surnamed Galbiana, and the thirteenth called Gemina, with Vedius Aquila a Lieutenant thereof, came to Padova cheerrfully, and full of courage. There some few dayes was spent in reposinge the army, and Minucius Justus camp-maister of the seventhe Legion was saved from the fury of the souldier, and sent to Vespasian, because his government was fraiter and more severe, then the nature of a civill warre would support. At what time alfo Antonius supposing it a plausible action, and for the credit of the side, if Galbaes government should seeme to be liked, gave commandment thorough out all the free townes, that the images of Galba; which upon change of times and dissenion of state, had been broken down, should be restored anew: a thing very long and greatly desired, and therefore interpreted, gloriously in the highest degree. Then was it proposd and disputed, what place were best to be chosen, for fear as it were of the warre. Verona seemed fittest, the countrey about it being champion, and commodious for horſemen, wherein con...
overthrown; seeking more over to weaken the faith, and win the good will of Praetumpe. 

\[...\]

To the same purpose also Mutianus advised them often by letters, alledging what a glory it would be to obtain a victory without blood, and whereof no mourning ensued, with such other pretences; whereas he did it indeed upon ambition, and coveting to reserve the whole renown of the warre for himselfe: but by reason of the great distances counsels came after the facts. Antonius having thus seated himselfe in Verona inflicted forth on the sudden, and gave the Alarme to the enemie, where trying their man-hood together in a light skirmish they departed on even hand. Anon Cecina encamped himselfe between Holilila, a village of the territory of Verona and the marshes of the river Tartarus, in a safe and defensible place; his back being guarded with the river, and the flanks, with marshes: who if he had meant truth, having all his masters power under his hand, might with great facility either have surprized two simple Legions (the Army of Moesia as yet being not joyned) or at least beaten them back, and forced them to flee, and with flame forfake Italy. But Cecina omitted traiterously all advantages, which at the first were offered, spending the time in trifling delays, and rebuking them by epistles, whom with like facility he might have repulsed with arms: until by messengers passing between the bargain was driven, and the covenants for his treaon agreed upon. In the mean time Aponius Saturninus came with the seventh Legion named Claudiana: the Legion was governed by Vipansius Mesela a Tribune, a man nobly descended, and of noble qualities himselfe, the only vertuous man and without note, that entered into that action. To this army, nothing comparable to his own (for as yet there were but three legions) Cecina sent letters, blaming their rashnesse, that being once overcome they durst put themselves againe into armes: and withall he extolled the valour of the German army, of Vitellius making small mention and in common terms only, without any reprochfull word against Vespasion at all. In summe writing nothing that might either corrupt the enemy or terrifie him. The Captaines of the Flavian army, omitting to speak of their former misfortune, returned anwer concerning Vespasion in haughty and glorious terms, shewing themselves very confident in their cause and secure of the event; reviling Vitellius as enemies, and bragging of the Moesian army, as being hitherto never overthrown, seeking moreover to weaken the faith, and winne the good will of the contrary side, by putting the Centurions and Tribunes in hope of retaining their places, and favours which Vitellius had bestowed upon them, and exhorting Cecina himselfe in plaine termes to revolt. Both the letters were solemnely read.
read to the Flavian soldiers: which thing increased not a little their courage and confidence, seeing Caecina to write humbly, as fearing to offend Vespasian, and their Generals contemnuously, as it were, insulting over Vitellius.

Antonius taking with him certaine &c. The Legions their Captaines, and marching with all necessary circumstancies in a manner, are in this war fully and plainly set down by our Author, incomparably better than either in the last between Vitellius and Otho, or in the next between Civilia and the Romans in Germany. Here Antonius Lieutenant of septima Gallianna marched first, about the latter end of August, or beginning of September, with vexillarii et colloborii, and part of the horse, making up no doubt a convenient power, albeit there was not any entire Legion. With him went Arrius Varus, of no higher degree at that time, as I think, than a Primus Pilus, of what Legion I cannot tell but lik. Tertia Legio is called familiares Arria Fara; miles; afterward as it appeareth Hist. 4, he obtained the Captaine ship of the Guard, and Pretoria ligiones, and being put by Mutius from the Captainship of the Guard, was made Prefectus annonae. At Paravium thereabout the two Legions of Flavianus took over Antonius, namely septima Galiana, whose Lieutenant was Antonius himself, and tertia decima Gemina with Vedius Aquila Lieutenant thereof, the Lieutenant general also T. Ampius Flavianus, may be preferred, coming with all for we finde him anon in the mutiny. At Verona Antonius Saturninus President of Meltia with septima Claudiana, Vespasian Medilla being Lieutenant thereof, overtook them. And anon afterward at Verona thereabout the other two Legions of Meltia, septima Gallica, with Dillus Aponianus, and officina Aurelia with Numius Lupus. And this was all the power that was present of the Flavian side at the battle of Cremona, certain bands of old Praetorian soldiers excepted, whereof we finde mention both in that field and elsewhere: but when and where they came to the side, is nowhere as it ought, expressly set down. Of Vitellius part there were present in the action of Cremona two complete Legions, una & vice-sima Rapax, which came out of Germany with Caecina, and Italia taken away from Lyons by Valens; and six imperfect Legions out of Germany: to wit, quarta et sexta decima alia decima duo et vice-sima out of high Germany; quinta, quinta, quinta et vice-sima, and sexta decima out of low Germany. Whereof six became 1. Hist. A little before the joining all the eight are set down particularly, and by name. And before the eight Legions in the beginning of this action, were of that side, besides the Britton wing, secunda Augustea, sexagesima, & vice-sima Pléiaria, part of the eight thousand which Vitellius brought out of Germany & Britanniae delitum, Tactus 2. Hist. and all his power under the charge of Caecina. After the battle at Cremona vii Legiones per illyricum dispersae, Tac. 3. Hist. the five conquering Legions, being increased by undecima Claudiana, and six thousand and besides out of Dalmatia, under the leading of Poppeus Silvanus Lieutenant General of that country, and Annius Ballus Lieutenant of the eleventh Legion, were left at Verona. Antonius with the Auxiliares and legi. Legiones marched to Fanum Fortunae. Tac. 3. Hist. At Fanum they sent for all their power from Verona, which overtook them at Carlula. On the other side after that overthrow at Cremona, Vitellius sent to Fabius Valens three Praetorian Cohorts with the Britth Wing, which were taken by Cornelius Fuscus at Arminium. Then he sent both the Captains of his Guard with fourteen Praetorian Cohorts and certain Wings of Horse men, and a Legion et legiones different from Adjutrix Claudia (which then was in Spain) and belike newly enrolled. And this in effect was the power of both sides employed in this action.

III. A mutiny of the Pannonian soldier against Flavianus their General, and another of the Maesian against Saturninus likewise theirs.

Shortly afterward the third and eighth Legion came; the one commanded by Dillus Aponianus, the other by Numius Lupus: whereupon they began to make shew of their forces, and determined to call up a militaric Trench about the Town of Verona. By chance it fell to the Galbiana Legion to work in the forepart of the Trench toward the enemy, and some of their own horse-men appearing in sight a far off caused a vain feare, as if it had been the Vitellian power. By and by they layed hold on their weapons, and their blood being stirred sought to discharge their choler and rage upon Flavianus, accusing him of treason without either proof or probability: but the man was before odious unto them, and therefore his death was now violently required. They cried out against him that he was allied with Vitellius, that he had been a traitor to Otho, and intercepted their donative. No answer would be heard, albeit he besought them holding up his hands in most humble manner, lying for the most part prostrate upon the ground, with his garments rent, weeping and sobbing pitifully: which kind of behaviour provoked their rage the more, as if this his over great fear had certainly argued a guilty conscience. Saturninus endeavouring to speak in his defence was full interrupted by the soldiers out-cries.
of Cornelius Tacitus.

out-cries: and the rest likewise were rejected with noise and clamour: only to
Antonius they were content to give ear; for he was both eloquent and skilful to please
a multitude, and beside, of most authority amongst them. When the sedition waxed
hot, and passed from words and ill speeches to weapons and blows; he command-
ded Flavius to be laid in chains. The soldiers perceived the slight, and breaking
through those that guarded the Tribunal, they were at the point to have flained
Flavius: but Antonius opposed himselfe with his sword drawn, protesting that if
they would not desist, he would either die by their hand, or by his own: and with-
all desired the assistance 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, hee besought them to send such fury, such discord, into the minds of
their enemies rather: till at length the sedition growing cold, and the day being
spent, the soldiers slipped away each to his lodging. Flavius departed away
the same night and meeting with letters from Vespasian was delivered from dan-
ger: but the Legions, as it were tainted with a contagious infection, stayed not
there, but banded themselves in like mutinous manner against Aponius Saturnius,
Lieutenant general of the Moesian Army, upon the coming abroad of certaine
letters, which he was supposed to have written to Vitellius: and their fury was so
much the more hard to appease, because it began, not as the former toward the eve-
ning, when they were tired before with labouring, but at the noon time of the day.
As in times past soldiers strive to passe one another in modesty and vertue, so then
the contention was to excell in unruliness and insolency, the Moesian soldier be-
ing loath to use lesse violence in seeking the death of Saturnius their general, then
the Pannonian were of Flavius before: the Moesian soldiers alladged that they
had helpt the Pannonians to prosecute their revenge, and the Pannonian soldier as
if the sedition of others would acquit them, were glad to see the like fault commis-
ted againe. So agreeing together in this determination they went to the Gardens
where Saturnius lodged. It was neither Antonius, nor Aponius, nor Messeizza, that
savin him out of their fury though they did what they could, but the secretness of
the place where he was hid, lying close in the furnaces of certaine Bathes, which by
chance were unoccupied: and so privily he conveyed himselfe to Padova, putting
away his serjeants, and living a private person. The Lieutenant general being
thus removed, Antonius had the whole government and direction of both the Ar-
mies, his companions the Lieutenant of the Legions easily yielding to him, and
the soldiers fancying him above others: and some were of opinion, that both the
mutinies were raised by his procurement, to the end that he alone might enjoy the
whole benefit of the warre.

- Flavius departed away] It had been well Tacitus had made us acquainted with the contents of these let-
ters, which met him so marvellously, _Iam in augurio_ , _That is, Tanquam ex machina_; as if Vespasian in Juy two months
before had foreseen, that his good friend Flavius should have been suspected and misused by his soldiers at Ver-
ona, and therupon directed letters in his favour. Then where the letters so luckily met him, or at all whether he
went was not specified: but surely whithersoever it was, being once out of the soldiers fingers, he was, as I presume,
out of all danger, at least any such as Vespasian letters could exempt him from.

III. The revolt of Lucilius Bassus the Admiral, and of the fleet at Ravenna.

The treason of Cecina Generall of the Army by land.

Of Vitellius side also matters were no lesse disquiet, the diffension being more
dangerous, as proceeding not of soldiers jealousies, but of the treason of the
Generals. Lucilius Bassus, Admiral of the Navy at Ravenna, had wone to

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The Flavian side the minds of his fouldiers, being somewhat inclinable thereto of themselves, the most of them were of Dalmatia and Pannonia, which Countreys held for Vespasian. The time for accomplishing the treason was appointed in the night, that whilest the rest knew nothing of the matter, they only of the conspiracy might affemble themselves in the Principia. Bassus either for shame, or doubt what would be the issue, kept himsefle within his house. The Captaines of the Gallies in the meane time with great tumult brake downe Vitellius images: and some few wth resisting being put to the sword, the rest of the multitude upon desire of change was easily induc'd to favor Vespasian. Then Lucilius coming abroad avowed the whole fact as done by his authority, and the Navy in his place made choice of Cornelius Fuscus for Admiraill; who came with speed thither: and Bassus was convei'd by ship to Hadria, as it were under honourable arrest; and by Mennius Rufinus Captain of a wing being in Garrison there put in bands; but soon after enlarged at the coming of Hormus Vespasians freed man, who was also in this warre counted among the Generals of that side. Now Cacina, as one as the revolt of the Navy was published abroad, assembed* the chief of the Centurions, and some of the fouldiers, the rest being dispersed and fuss'd in their ordinary martial duties, into the Principia, purposely chusing the most secret corner of the Camp. There he greatly extolled the valour of Vespasian, and the strength of the side, declaring also that the Navy was already revolted, the only support of Vitellius provision: that France and Spaine were turned against him: that in the city 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 privy to the plot beginning to fureare to Vespasian, the rest amazed at the strangeness of the matter followed the example: immediately Vitellius images were broken down, and messengers sent to Antonius to declare what had pass'd. But affoon as this revolt was bruited throughout the camp and the fouldiers coming into the Principia saw Vespasian name set up, and Vitellius images cast under foot, they were mute at the first, then all at once they brake out with indignation. Is then the glory and fame of the German Armies now come to this? That without battell or any blow stricken, they should thus bind their own hands, and yeeld up 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 absent, to wit, the first and fourteenth, which yet they had likewife overthrown in the fame field with the rest: and all belike to this end, that so many thousands of valiant fouldiers should afterwards, like a drove of bond-slaves, be beftow'd as a present upon Antonius an exiled person: as though eight Legions were to be the dependance of one Navy. But fo was the pleasure of Bassus and Cacina, after they had robbed the Prince of his houses and gardens, and treasure, to bereave him also of his fouldiers, albeit never touched nor wounded, and so to make them contemptible and vile, evento the Flavianists also. For what could they say being required an account of their prosperity and adversity? To this effect every one by himsefle and all together crying out, as griefe and anger wrought in their minds, the first legion being most forward they set up Vitellius images again, and laying hold upon Cacina put him in fetters, and appointed Fabius Fabulus Lieutenant of the first legion and Cassius Longus the camp-mater Generals in his place, killing certain Gally-fouldiers which by chance arrived there in an ill hour though utterly ignorant and innocent of that which had pass'd. Then leaving their camp and breaking the bridge they returned to Hostilia, and from thence to Crenon to joyn with the first Legion called Italica, and the one and twentieth surnamed Ra-
of Cornelius Tacitus.

V. The skirmish of the Flavian and Vitellian horse-men between Bebriacum and Cremona.

When Antonius had understanding thereof, he determined whilest the enemies were at diffusion, and their forces not joined together, to use his advantage and affraye them, before either the Generals could ground their authority, or the fouldiers frame themselves to a new obedience, or the Legions recover courage by uniting together. He guessed that Fabius Valens was already come out of Rome, and would make great haste, as soon as he heard of Cæcina's treason: and Fabius was known to be a man faithfull to Vitellius, and not unskilfull in service: besides a great power of Germans was feared by the way of Rhaetia, and Vitellius had sent for aides out of Britainy, France and Spain: enough to have maintained a mighty and puyffant war, had not Antonius upon doubt thereof halted the battel, and before hand obtained the victory. So with his whole hoste he removed from Verona, and the second night fate downe at Bebriacum.

The next day employing his Legions in fortifying the Campe, he sent out his Auxiliary Cohorts into the territory of Cremona, to the end that the fouldiers, under couer of providing necessaries, might be enured and fleshed in civill spoile. He to safe conduct the Forragers advanced himself with foure thousand horse eight miles forward from Bebriacum: and the skowts in the mean time, as the manner is, pricked on further. About the fift hour of the day one came riding in post, to give intelligence that the enemies were hard at hand, that some few marched before, but account, cleared.

Whilest Antonius was deliberating what was to be done, Arius Varus, desirous to do some piece of service, brake out with certain of the forwardeft horse-men, and made the Vitellianists recule, and flew some few: for by and by more of their fellows coming to helpe, fortune changed, and they that were most forward before in pursuance were now left laft in the flight. This haste was against Antonius will, who supposed the event would be such as it was: but seeing it could not be undone he encouraged his men to fight valiantly: and dividing his troops in two parts, left a lane in the middle to receive in Varus with his horsemen, word also was sent back to the Legions to arme, and the alarme was given to those that were forraging abroad, that every man should leave off spoiling, and repair with all speed the next way to the fight. Now by this time Varus in a great feare was retir'd within his own Troupes, and induced either a generall terror, the wounded and unwounded were beaten together, and greatly distress'd through their own feare, and the straitnesse of the waies. In all which confusion and tumult Antonius omitted no part either of a resolute General, or valiant fouldier, encouraging those that were dismayed, flattering them that shunk: where most need was, whence any hope appeared, there busying himselfe, with direction, hand and speach, in the view of the enemy,
enemy, in the sight of his own men, growing at the last to that heat, that with his Lance he ran through a Guidon-bearer who was fleeing away, and taking his guidon turned it against the face of the enemy: whereat for very flame there fled 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 River that ran behind them, whose unknown channell and treepe bankes stopped their further flight. That constraint or chance recovered the field that we first was lost. For knitting themselves strongly together, with thick and close rankes, they recibed the Vitellian soldiers coming on looſely without any order. Which thing the leffe it was looked for, amazèd them the more. Whereupon Antonius finding them yielding pressed them more instantly 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 crie of their fellows, returned then back to take part of the victory. About foure miles from Cremona, the ensignes of two Legions, Rapax and Italica appeared, having marched so farre upon the successe of their horſemen at the beginning: but when fortune turned, they were so far to seek as that they neither did open their rankes, and receive their distressed fellows within them, nor yet went forward to affaile the enemy tired already with fighting and following so far. Thus being by chance overcome, they found in adverſity the lack of a Leader, which in their jolity they cared not for. As the Legions stood wavering in termes of breaking, the Flavian horse-men charged upon them: Vipanius Metfalla the Tribune was at their heele with the Moesian Aides, who in militarie renown, albeit lately enrolled, were nothing inferior to the Legionary soldiers. So horse-men and foot-men mingled together did easilie break the Vitellian Legions, and the town of Cremona lying so neare gave them leffe minde to resift, and more hope to escape: neither did Antonius press any further, considering the travell and wounds, which both his horse-men and horses had taken, in so dangerous a skirmish, albeit the end went on his side. Toward the shuttling in of the evening the whole power of the Flavian army arrived: who as soon as they trode among the heapes of dead bodies, in the fresh steps of so late a slaughter, as if the whole ware had been ended, cried to lead on out of hand to Cremona, and take by surrender or force thosë conquered perſons. These gay speeches were in their mouths and openly pretended, but secretly every one caſt thus with himſelfe: That a Town feated in the plaine might be won easilie at a push, that their courage would as well serve 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 supplications and intrigues for peace, and so for their labour and hurts they should carry away the vaine fmoakes of clemency and glory, and such other titularie matters, but the wealth and riches of the Town would cleave to the Captaines and Lieutenants fingers: that the spoile of a City taken by force fell to the soldiers, but of a City surrendered alwaies to the Captaines alone. Hereupon the perwasions of the Tribunes and Centurions, as perſons suspe&d, were rejected: and because no mans speech should be heard, they rated their weapons, threatening if no man would lead them beside, to guide and conduct themſelves. Then Antonius inſinuating himſelfe among the common soldiers, after he had with the fight of his perſon, and reverence of his place, procured silence, protested unto them, that his meaning was not in any forto defraud so well deserving soldiers, either of honour or reward. Norwithstanding the captains & soldiers duties were of different nature, a soldier ought to be fierce and
of Cornelius Tacitus.

and desirous to fight, but in Captains a wary fore-fight and deliberate kind of proceeding is rather commended: and more oftentimes proveth and helpeth he by protracting, then venturing rashly. For his part as he had to his power with weapons and hand furthered the victory, so would he likewise help now with direction and counsel, peculiar qualities to a General, and the place he sustained. And surely if they lift but a little consider, the dangeroues of the enterprise was very apparent. It was now night, the situation of the town 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 discovery before hand, and assurance that all coasts were cleare. What? would they begin an assault when they could not discern the best place of approach, nor the height of the walls, whether it were best to attempt them by discharging of shot a farre off, or by engines at hand, or by mine? then turning himself to particular perrons he demanded of them severally, whether they had brought their Hatchets and 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 Javelins and Swords? What if it fall out that we must of necessity raise mounts, cover our selves with hurdles and frames of boord? Shall we not then be forced to stand like good fillie fools gazing and gaping at the height of their Towers and the strength of their fortifications? Nay rather let us stay for one night, and fetch hither in the meane time our engines and instruments of battery, and so carry the victory surely before. And herewith he dispatched the Servants and followers of the camp, and the freest of his horsemen to Bebriacum, to bring victuals from thence and all other necessary provision.

VI. The great battle at Cremona between the Flavianists and the Vitellianists. Cremona sacked and burnt.

He fouldier discontented thereat and repining, was growing toward a mutiny, when as their horse men having scowred to the very walls of Cremona took certain stragglers of the Town, by whose confession it was understood that six Vitallian Legions, and the whole power that lay at Hostilia, hearing of the defeat 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 minds, which before were closed against all their Generals good counsel, and so he commanded the third Legion to make stand upon the "Cawfey of the Posthumian way: fast by it on the left hand stood the seventhGunamed Gallibana in a plaine field: then the seventh called Claudiana having before it a common ditch for a kind of defence, as the place chanced to yeld: on the right hand stood the eighth Legion in an open ground: then the thirteenth in a thicket somewhat difurnished by reason of bushes and shrubs. In this fort stood the Bannerds and ensignes of the Legions, but the fouldiers were blended together, as it chanced in the dark. The band of Praetorians stood next to the third Legion, the auxiliary Cohorts were placed in the wings, and the horsemens guarded the flanks, and rearward: Sido and Italicus the Suevians with the choise of their Country-men served in the foreward. On the other side, the Vitellian Army, whose best course doubletse had been to have taken some rest at Cremona, and refreshed themselves with food and sleep, and so the next day to have given the on-set upon their enemies, starved with hunger and cold, for lack of a leader and want of direction, about the third houre
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hour of the night dashed themselves upon the Flavian Armie, who stood now in array strongly prepared to receive them. The order and standing of the Vitellian Army I dare not for certain avouch, being doubtlesse disordered through anger and darknesse. Some affirm that the fourth Legion called Macedonica stood in the right wing: the fifth and the fifteenth Legions, with certain companies out of three British Legions, the ninth, second, and twentieth filled up the middle battell; the left wing consisting of the tenth Legion, the two and twentieth and the first: the soldiers of Rapax and Italica dispersed themselves throughout all: the horsemen and Aides chose their own standing. The fight continued all night very doubtfull and cruel, with great mortality sometimes on the one side, and sometime on the other: courage of strength availed little in the dark, where the eye could not discern a friend from an enemy. On both sides was the same kind of armour and weapons: by many mutual questions each knew others watch-word: the banners also were mingled together, as it hapned a band to take any from the enemy and carrie them to and fro. The seventh Legion lately levied by Galba was pressed most hardly: six of her principal Centurions were slain, and some enigines taken away, the Standard it self was hardly defended by Attilius Verus the chief Centurion, who with great slaughter of the enemy, and his own death in the end, notwithstanding saved his charge. The Flavians thus going to the worse, Antonius re-inforced and strengthened the battell by sending of the Praetorian soldiers, who as soon as they undertook the fight repulsed the enemy at the first, and anon were repulsed themselves. For the Vitellians had brought their engines of war, which before were dispersed and discharged against bushes and trees, without any hurt to the enimie, and placed them upon the causeyes of the high-way to have an open passage and free scope to shoot out: among the rest a Balista of a wonderfull greatnesse, belonging to the sixteenth Legion, shooting out huge and mighty stones galled them sore, and had made afarre greater havock among them, had not two soldiers undertaken an honourable exploit, and taking up Targets among the dead bodies gone unknown, and cut the cords and weights of the engine: whereupon they were by and by cut in pieces and so their names are not known; of the fact there is no question. Now the battell continued doubtfull, and Fortune indifferent to both sides, till at farre in the night the Moon rose and discovered the Armies, though in darkness and more in favour of the Flavian side, because she was at their backs: by means of where both the shadows of the men and horses stretched along toward the enemies, and so the Arrows and Darts of the Vitellians, being fallly betownd upon shadows, fell short of the bodies; whereas contrariwise, by reason of the Moone shinning against them, the Vitellian soldiers were easily bit unawares with the blows of the other, discharging as it were out of a covert. Antonius assoone as he could discern his own Company, and be likewise discerned of them, began to inflame them severally, some with shame and rebuke, others with praise and encouragements, all with hope and large promises: demanding of the Pannonian Legions for what purpose they had now resumed Armes? If to wipe away the blot of their late ignominy, here was the field where they might reintegrate themselves in their honour again. Then turning to the Moesian soldiers, he challenged them as authoris and beginners of the warre, adding that in vaine they had dared the Vitellians with words and threates, if now they durst not abide their hands and looks. 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
of Cornelius Tacitus.

Antonius they had overthrown the Parthians, under Corbulo the Armenians, and of late the Sarmatians. Then directing his speech to the Pretorians in great anger: As for you disdained soldier (quoth he) if you win not here, what other General, or what other Cambium receive you? Yonder loe, there be your ensigns and weapons, and present death if you lose, for you have spent already your shame. Great crying and noise there was on every side, when as the third Legion, as the manner in Syria is, with a great shout saluted the Sun rising: upon which accident, or by the Generals policy, a general rumour was spread through the Host, that Mutilianus was come, and the Armies had met and saluted each other. Whereupon as supplied with new forces, they pressed forward and gave a fresh on set, the Vitellian ranks growing now thinner, as being without all direction, and banding together or disbanding as their own courage or fear did induce them. When Antonius felt them weak in the shock, and yeelding under his hand, with a Company firmly compacted he charged and disordered them. The ranks once loosed, brake, and could not be reunited by reason of the Carriages and engines which hindered the matter. The conquerors hotly pursuing the chase dispersed themselves along the Highway. The slaughter was the more famous, because in the same it happened the sonne to kill his own father: the thing and the names of the persons I will set down, as Vipanus Mezzilla hath reported it. Julius Manutius born in Spaine, and called to serve in the Legion surnamed Rapax, left a sonne at home under yeares, who growing afterwards to mans estate, and being enrolled by Galba into the seventhe Legion, by mere misfortune here met and encountered with his own father, and having wounded him deadly, going about to rifle him, came into knowledge of him, and was likewise known by him again. Whereupon embracing the corpse, which now was without sense or life, with tears and lamentable voice he besought his fathers ghost, not to impute this impiety unto him, nor abhorre and detest him as a parricide: that it was the publick act of the cause: and what a small portion was one soldier of these civil wars? And with all he took up the body, made a pit in the ground, and performed his last duty toward his father. This was perceived by them which were next, and then by more also: in the end the name of this strange chance went through the whole Army, and much complaining there was, and detestation of so cruel, and wicked a warre: and yet they continued nothing the lesser to kill and to spoile both kinsmen and friends, and even their brethren also. They talk what a wicked fact was committed, and in the meanest time commit it themselves. When as they came to Cremona, there appeared a new and no small piece of work yet behinde. For in the warre against Otho the German soldiers had cast their Campe about the walls of Cremona, and about their Campe Rapiers and Trenches, which they had now lately augmented. At the sight whereof the Flavianists were at a stand, the Generals being doubfull what to appoint. To begin the assault the Army being tyred with the travell both of the day and the night, were a difficult matter & having no place of retiring at hand dangerous too: to return to Bebriacum were intolerable pain, the way being so long, and besides, all they had done would be lost, and the victory made void: to sit down and intrench, that also were a thing full of danger, and to be feared, left the enemies being so near should rally out, and breed some disorder, as they were dispered, and busie at their work. But above all these respects the Generals stood in most fear of their own soldiers, who would sooner abide any danger, then any delay: all that tended to safety was unfavourable, in precipitation was their hope; the greedy desire of the spoile made all killing, wounding, shedding their
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their blood to be matters of nothing. To this resolution therefore Antonius, finally inclining, commanded to environ the trenches with souldiers round about. And first they fought aloof with arrows and stones on both sides but with disadvantage to the Flavian part, upon whom the enemy discharged from above: then approaching near he distributed to the Legions the trenches and gates, appointing to each their several quarter, to the end the labour being thus divided the difference between the valiant and the coward might be perceived, and mutuell emulation of honour should excite them to yernce. The third and seventh Legion were assigned the quarter next to the way, which leads from Bebriacum: the eighth and seventh surnamed Claudiana took up the trenches on the right hand: the thirteenth was carried with a fury to the gate toward Brescia. After this they paused a while, till they had fetched out of the fields thereabout, some of them spades and axes, some others hooks and ladders. Then with a strong, Target-fence over their heads they came under the walls, and were received by those that understood that kind of service, as having been trained up in the same Schoole, who rowled down huge stones upon it, and forced the flame to stagger and fleet, then followed and searched into it with javelins and spears, till the connexions of Targets being dissolved and broken, they flew or maimed the men. Upon so great slaughter the Flavianists were almost at a stay, had not the Captaines perceiving the souldiers to be tired, and all other encouragements prevaile but a little, shewed unto them the town of Cremona, as the price of their victory. Whether this was Hormus devise, as Meffalla reporteth, or Caius Plinius be rather to be beleved, who cafteth the fault upon Antonius, I cannot easily determine; this only that whether Antonius or Hormus were Author of this most bad part, it was not unsutable to neither of their former infamous lives, and behaviours. But hereupon no danger of limme or life could stay the Flavian souldiers from breaking down the Trenches, and beating open the gates, even with their shoulers; and some climbing up by a double Target-fence took hold on their enemies weapons, and caught them by the armes: to the wounded and not wounded, the halfe dead and dying, came down tumbling together, and perished some after one fashion, and some after another, representing all diversities of deaths. The seventh and third Legion fought most bravely, and gave the sharpest assault, and Antonius the Generall himselfe, with the choisen men of the Auxiliary souldiers, had bended his forces that way. The Vitellianists perceiving themselves not able to sustain any longer the force, and fury of men so obstinately bent, and that whatsoever they cast down upon them slid away upon the Target-fence, without doing any harme, resolved to rowle down at the last a great engine upon them as they approached: which indeed for the present overhelmed those that were under, but withall in falling it drew the battlementes with it, and uppermost part of the rampier: and at the same time a Tower adjoyning being battered with stones fell down. At which breach as the seventh Legion assaied to enter in a pointed battell, the third Legion in the meane seaxon brake down the gate with their swords and axes. It is agreed upon by all writers, that the first man which entred the trench was Caius Volusius, a souldier of the third Legion, who presently going to the Rampire tumbled down all that resisted, and advancing himselfe in light proclaimed the Campe was taken: and as the Vitellianists were now beginning to faint, and leape down from the Rampire, the rest brake in. All the space between the trenches and the town was filled with dead bodies. And there again appeared a new work, and another labour: the walls of the city were high, the Towers all of stone, the barres of the gates of iron, the souldier ready with weapon in hand on the walls,
the Townesmen many and sure to Vitellius, beside a great number of strangers assembled out of all places of Italy thereto, by occasion of a Fair usually held 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 affailants in respect of the spoil. Antonius commanded to take fire and burne certain most goodly buildings, standing without the walls, if peradventure the Towns-men upon the losse of their substance would be induced to yeeld. The houses that were neare to the walls, and exceeded them in height he replenished with the valiantest soldiers he had, who with blocks of timber, and tiles, and fire-brands, beat away the defendants from the walls: by this time also, the Legions had cast themselves into a Target-fence, and others shot stones, and arrows against them on the walls. Then the Vitellianists hearts began by little and little to faille them, and every man as he was first in degree was likewise the first to yeeld unto fortune, left if Cremona also should be taken there would be no hope of pardon remaining, the whole wrath of the winners being like to turn not upon the poore and beggarly soldiuer, but upon the Tribunes and Centurions, by whose death some gaine might be gotten: contrarily the common-soldier not searching into sequels, and in lesse danger by reason of his baseness, persisted still for Vitellius: and wandering in the streets, or hiding themselves in houses would not sue for peace, even then when as they had left off to make war. So the principal men of degree in the army razed Vitellius names, and defaced his images, and loosing Caecina, who then was in bands, desired him to become intercessour in their behalf. As he made dainty to doe it, and bare himself proudly against them, they besought him instantly even with tears (amiſery of all miſeries, somany valiantmen to implore the aide (4) of a disdainfultraitour) and then hung out over the walls their *sacred veles and infules, in signe of submission. Whereupon Antonius commanding his men to surcease all hostileitie, they brought out their ensignes and standards: the Vitellian Legions followed; a heavie company, unarmed, and casting their eyes to the ground. The Flavianists closed about them, and first outraged them in speeches, and seemed to threatne violence unto them: but when they saw them not moved thereat, but patiently to endure all indignities, according to the circumstance of their present fortune, they began to call to remembrance, that even those were the selfe same men, that had a little before at Bebracum used their victorie moderately. But when Caecina came forth as a Consull in his robes with his sergeants before him making way through the presshe, the conquering soldiuer loft all manner of patience, objecting unto him his pride, and his cruelty, yea and his treason too: so hatefull are vices even where they are profitable. But Antonius interposed himselfe and sent him safely garded away to Vespasian. In the mean space the people of the town, among so many armed men, were greatly annoyed, and they scaped nearly of a general massacre, had not the Captaines intreated, and somewhat appeased the soldiuer wrath. Antonius calling a full assembly made a solemn oration, speaking in glorious terms to the soldiurers of his own side, and in curtous to those of the other, concerning Cremona ambiguously. The Army was doublely earnestly bent to the destruction and sack of the city beside a natural desire of spoil, upon an old conceived displeasure against them: for in the warre of Otho also they were thought to have belted & helped Vitellius side; and afterwards the thirteenth Legion being left there to build an Amphitheatre (as commonly those Towns-men are naturally malapert) they had jefted and scoffed at them. Many other circumstances made their case also the harder, as that Caecina had in that Town exhibited his shew of "Fencers in honour of Vitellius victory: that it was chosen now the second
cond time for the seat-towne of the warre: that they had helped the Vitellian army with victuals: that some women were found slain, which for extreme love to the side had come out to the battle: and not least because the faire time had filled the towne, being otherwise wealthie, with shew of more wealth. And thus ftood the fouldiers for their part affected. As concerning the Commanders, the behaviours of the rest were not much marked: Antonius by reason of his fortune and his fame was principally eied: who as soon as he entered the Towne went presently to the Bath to wash of the bloud, and finding it somewhat too coole, let fall a word which was quickly taken up, that ere long it would be made hotter. This base jest turned the whole blame upon him, as if he had given thereby a watch-word to set Cremona on fire, which to say the truth was burning already. Forty thousand armed men were broken in, and of servants and followers of the Camp both a greater number, and a great deale more disordered in all kind of licentious and cruell demeanour: neither age, nor honourable calling could warrant any from violence, but without respect of either they abused their bodies in villanous manner, and flew them indifferently. Aged men and old women, nought worth to be fold, they haled in a jolite for pastime and sport: if any maid of competent yeares, or beautifull young man fell amongst them, in thriving who should carry them away, they pulled them aunder and tare them in pieces: and thereupon growing in choler turned to kill one another. When as any had gotten and carried away for himselfe money, or the gold and jewels out of the Temples, being met by a stronger, he left behind him both his life and his booty: some contemning that which they found ready and open, compelled the Owners with tortures and stripes, to confess and yeeld up their hidden riches, and treasures buried under the ground. The fouldiers walked with firebrands in their hands, which assoone as they had emptied the goods, they hurled in a sport and waitonneffe into the void houses, and empty Temples. And as in an Army diverse in language and manners, compounded of Romans, confederates, and strangers, their lusts and desires were diverse, and something held lawful by one, something by another, and nothing unlawful to all. Foure whole days Cremona miniſted matter to sack and to burne: and all things besides both holy and profane being consumed into ashes, the Temple of Mephitis without the walls remained untouched, either because it stood out of the way, or by reason of some divine vertue of the goddeffe. This end had the City of Cremona, two hundred eighty and six 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 should break in by the Alpes. So by reason of the number of inhabitants, commodity of Rivers, fertility of the foile annexed, and affinities contracted with other people, it grew up and flourished, in forrein warres untouched, unfortunate in civil. Antonius ashamed of this foule act, which daily grew more and more odious, made proclamation, that no man should keep any Citizen of Cremona as his lawfull prisoner, and Italia with one generall consent refusing to buy any of them for slaves marred the fouldiers market: who thereupon began to murder their prisoners. Which being once known, their friends and kinsfolkes fiercerly came and ranfomed them. In short time after the rest of the people returned to Cremona. The publick places and Temples were reedified to the charges of the Townesmen, and upon Vel-sians speciall encouragement. For the present, the ground being infected with the noyſomeffe of the dead carcasses, suffered not the Flavian Army to dwell long upon the mines of the razed City. So they removed three
three miles off, and there reduced the Vitellianists, being disbanded, and trembling for fear, every soldier under his colours, and anon afterward sent them away into Illyricum, left during the time of the troubles they should fortune to work innovation. 

And for a proof of their victory, into France they sent Julius Calenus a Tribune, and into Germanie Alpinus Montanus captain of a cohort, because Alpinus was of Triers, and Calenus an Eeduane, and both had followed Vitellius side: and withall they kept and fortified the passages of the Alpes with Gerrifons, fearing the descent of the Germane that way in favour of Vitellius.

1 The moon rose The very same effects fell upon the like cause, in the night battle between Pompey and Mithridates described by Plutarch, and Dio. But the Epitome of Dio says this here down somewhat otherwise.

VII. Fabius Valens seteth forward. Vitellius blockish behaviour. The death of Iunius Blasius.

But Vitellius, having within few days after Caeinæa's departure set forth Fabius Valens also to the war, as if nothing else were now to be done, laid aside all care of affairs, and betook himself to his riotous life. He made no provision of armour, confirmed not the fowldiers with comfortable speeches, or military exercises.
exercises; he conversed not in publick in the face of the people (like those flagging creatures, which if you supply with food yee carelessly stretched along) lurking in arbours and places of pleasure, he had cast off all memory alike, of past, present, and to come. Thus wallowing in sloth, and languishing in the groves of Arcicia, the heavy newes came unto him of the treason of Lucilius Bassus, and of the revolt of the navie at Ravenna: foone after the sorrowfull tidings mixed with some joy concerning Cæcina came, both that he had revolted, and that he was put in bands by the armie. His blockish and dull disposition apprehended more the joy then the care, informuch that with great triumph he made his returne unto the city, and there in a Solemn assembly commended, & highly extolled the dutifull affection of the soldiars. Then he commanded Publius Sabinus captain of the Guard, because he was inward with Cæcina, to be committed, substituting Alphenus Varus in his room: immediately going to the Senate he made there a stately and magnificall oration unto them, and was required of them againe with all kinde of exquisite flatteries.

Then proceeded a heavi sentence against Cæcina, pronounced first by Lucius Vitellius, and fo by the rest of the Senate in order; who was in the Princes behalfe uttering their own griefe aggravate his fact with teares of affected indignation, that the Confuſl should betray the common wealthe, a Generall his sovereign Lord, and a man fo greatly advanced in riches and honour his sole admirer and maker; without any touch at all or injurious speech against any of the Flavian Captaines, but only blaming the errour, and oversight of the armie: and for Vespasians proceedings, with great caution touching that thing, and always sparing his name.

... Then Roscius Regulus presented a petition, & by humble suite obtained, a ridulous thing both to give and to take, the Consulship for one only day which remained behind of Caecinae time, & fo the last day of October he entered and resigned his Office. It was observed by men skilfull that way, that never before was there any such substitution seene, but either upon error in the creation, or an express law for that purpose enacted. For Camnius Rebilus had likewise beene Consul for one day alone, at that time when Caius Caesar was Dictator " and the service of many in the civil warre required much speed in rewarding. About the same time the death of Junius Bloeſus was openly knowne and much talk of abroad: the circumstances whereof, as we have received them are these. Vitellius lying sick of a grievous diseafe in the Servilian gardens, chanced to espie in a turrett not farre of many lights burning in the night leaſon, and demanding the cauſe, they about him made anſwer that in Cæcina Tufcus houſe there was a solemn feast, and much company met, whereof Junius Bloeſus was the principall guest, amplifying the fumpeuſſeſſe of the entertainement, and the mirth, & the wanton folacing themselves, and such other matters farre above truth: yea and some stuck not directly to accuse Tufcus himſelfe and others; but aggravated most against Bloeſus that had no good leſſer and luft in the Princes ficknes, to banquet and paſſe the time more laſily away. When they found Vitellius humour once harpned, and it was cleare to them, that see deeply into Princes dislikes, that Bloeſus might be overthrowne, the promoting and prosecuting against him was committed to Luſius Vitellius: who upon a finifter emulation malicing Bloeſus (because he was so ſoſſe a man, and himſelfe by defert his 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 owne, but my humble fuiue is, and these teares are shed in your owne behalfe, and your childrens. In vaine do we stand in feare of Vespasian, whom so many Legions as we
of Cornelius Tacitus.

have of our side, so many provinces of valour and trust, and so great and infinite distance by Sea and land doth withhold and keep off: we had more neede to take heede of an enemy at home in our bosome, who vaunts of the Junii and Antonii for his progenitours, and maketh all demonstrations of curtseie and bountifulnesse toward the fouldiers, as one descended of the imperiall bloud: that way all mens minde beginne now to bend: whilest your majesty in the meane time, carelesse of the estate both of your friends and foes, nourisith a concurrent, that rakheth delight out of hisbanketing house to behold his Princes sicknesse and griefes. Vouchsafe, I bechech you, for his unseasonable mirth, to render him a sad and sorrowfull night, whereby he may both know and seale, that Vitellius liveth and ruleth, and if ought should befall him but good, hath a sonne to leave in his place. Vitellius standing in dread between the fear of differing, and the open avowing of so wicked a fact, left the one might breed his destruction, the other procure great envy and slander, finally resolved to attempt it by poison: the supposition wherof was strongly confirmed, by his going in great joy to visit Blesus, as he lay a dying; and moreover a moost sage speech of his was overheard, wherein he vaunted (for I will report his owne very words) that he had fed his cies in beholding his enemies death. Blesus besides his honorable death and courtly conditions, was loyall and falt to Vitellius, For before Vespaian put up, when as matters were yet entire, being solicited by Caccina and the chiefest of the side, who began now to wax weary of Vitellius, he fitting resifted; a man of upright conversion, not turbulent, nor desirous of haftly rising, and so far from ambitious aspiring to the Empire, that in many mens opinions he was esteemed not worthy of it.

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

In the meanes season Fabius Valens marching forward, more slowly then was convenient in going to warre, with a great and effeminat traine of concubines and eunuches, was advertised in poll of the treason of Lucilius Basius, with the loffe of the navy at Ravenna: and if he had followed with expedition his purposed journey, he might either have prevented Caccinaes falling away, or overtaken the Legions before the battell was given. And some persuading him to take a few of his trustiest friends, & so avoiding Ravenna by secret by-waies to go in all speed to Hostilia, or Cremona: others were of opinion to send for the Praetorian cohorts out of the City, and so by strong hand to make paſſage. But Valens using delay, to the great hurt of the caufe, spent the times of action in consultation: and then rejecting both the advises, and taking a middle course, which in cases of danger and doubt and all is the worst, he neither was venturous enough with the one, nor provident though with the other, but only wrote letters to Vitellius for some supply. Whereupon three cohorts were sent with the Britishe wing, a number neither fit to passe secret with all, nor sufficient to break thorow by force. But Valens even then, a midſt to great danger, abstained not from his old untemperate living, but was deſtamed, and noted to take by force his lewd pleasures, and pollute his hofts houses, wherefore ever he came, with adulteries, and other unlawful lufts: he had both might and money, great means to induce, and the laſt lufts fortune beginning to fall, now at the farewell shewed themselves moſt outrageous. When the horſemen and footmen were come, then appeared the weakneſse and fault of that counsell. For neither could he withſo small a company, though he had beene moſt truſty, passe thorow the enemies, neither yet were they faſt and truſty indeed: but for a while
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shame, and the reverence of their Generall being present, restrained them, bonds of no long continuance with men; greedily of dangers, and careless of credit: upon feare whereof Valens sending the cohorts before to Arminium, and appointing the wing to guard them behind, with a few in his company, whom adverfitie had not altered, turned aside into Umbria, and from thence to Etruria. Where understanding the event of the battell at Cremona, he entered into a notable determination, and if it had succeede, of great conquence, to betake himselfe to the sea, and setting on land in some part of the province of Narbon, to raise France and the nations of Germany, and to stirre up a new war. Assoone as Valens was gone, Cornelius Fuscus came with an army upon them at Arminium, and bestowing his ships not farre from the towne forced the sollier for feare to yeld, and made himselfe master of the plaine of Umbria, and the countrey of Picenum all along the sea side; and so all Italy on the one side of the Appennine mountaines was under the subjection of Vespasian, and on the other side under Vitellius. Valens having embark’d himselfe in the bay of Pisa, was driven by the violence of the sea, or contrary windes, into the port of Hercules Monocoeus. Not farre from thence Marcus Maturus Procurator of the sea Alpes remained, a man very faithful and constant in Vitellius cause, notwithstanding all thereabout had declared themselves for the contrary side, who intertaining Valens with all kinde of courteſie, and warning him, not rashly to enter into the province of Narbon, with this admonition stroke a terriour into his minde, and withall the rest of the company began to faint for feare, and stagger in their alledgeance. For Valerius Paulinus a Procurator, a valiant sollier, and a friend of Vespasians before his advancement, had sworn the cities round about unto him, and gathering all those, which being dismissed by Vitellius of their owne accord resumed armes, kept the colony of Forum Julii, being the key of the sea, with a garriſon: his dealing therein carrying the more credit, because he was borne in that towne, and was highly esteemed among the Praetorian solliers, whose Tribune sometimes he had beene; and the townesmen also upon favour to their countreyman, and hope of greatnesse hereafter, endeavoured to further the side. This strong preparation being reported in the amplest fort to the Vitellianists, who already were wavering in minde, Fabius Valens retired in all speed to the ships, accompanied only with foure Spearemens, three of his friends, and as many Centurions: Maturus and the rest were at their liberty to stay behind, if it liked them, and safe to Vespasian. But as the sea was safer to Valens then the shoare, or towne, so floating thereon unresolved, and seeing rather what to shun then what to follow, he was at the length by contrary weather cast upon the Stocheades Islands, upon the coasts of Marselis, from whence Paulinus sending out of his ships fetched him in.

"Belkein Gallia Narbonensis."

"Meant as I take of Old Praetorian solliers onely, other dismissed by Vespasian finde not, and mentiones made by and by expressly of the Praetorians."

"spiculatores"

IX. The
The state of the Provinces abroad upon the troubles in Italy.

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 Adjutrix; 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 thereof the second Legion under Claudius, did easily win that Legion unto him, albeit not without some stirrure of the rest, whereof many Centurions and soldiers, who had been advanced by Vitellius, were unwilling to change the Prince, whom they had proved already. By means of which dissension and continual rumours of civil wars, the Britains took heart and rebelled, through the procurement of Venufius; who besides a natural fierce temper, of courage, and hatred of the Roman name, was incensed particularly, by a private unkindness between him and the Queene Cartifimandua. Cartifimandua was Queene of the Brigantines, of high and noble lineage, who upon the deliverance of King Caratacus, whom she took by fraud, and sent to furnish and set out the triumph of Claudius, was favor with the Romans, & greatly increased her strength: whereupon ensued wealth, and of wealth and prosperity riotous and incontinent life: in such manner that casting off Venufius, who was her husband, she joined her selfe in marriage with Volocatus her harness-bearer, and crowned him King: which fact was the overthrow immediately of her house. The good will of the country went generally upon the lawfull husband: but the Queens untemperate affections were peremptory and violent in maintaining her union. Whereupon Venufius by the help of his other friends, and the revolt of the Brigantines, made warre upon Cartifimandua, and brought her into great extremeties: then praying aid at our hands, our cohorts and wings were sent to defend her, which after sundry skirmishes collected from two diverse coasts. As often heretofore, so now especially fortune was favourable to the Romans, bringing Mutianus with the power of the East to arrive there at that instant, and that in the mean time the matter was so dispatched at Cremona. Mutianus departing away left Fonteius Agrippa, who had been one year Proconfull of Asia, Lieutenant Generall in Moesia; assigning him sufficient forces out of the
Vitellian Legions, whom it was thought a point both of policy and peace to disperse abroad in the provinces, and keep occupied in foreign war. Neither were other nations at quiet. In Pontus a barbarous bondman, which sometime had been Admiral of the Kings navy, raised up a sudden warre in the country; 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 charge. Whereupon having associated unto him in Vitellius name the nations that dwell upon Pontus, alluring the poore and needie with hope of booty and spoile, he became in short time Commander of competent forces, with which he suddenly invaded & brake into Trapezus, a very ancient city built by the Graccans, in the uttermost borders of Pontus: where a cohort was slaine, which in time past was in the service there of the King, but being afterward made citizens of Rome, had taken ensignes and armour after our manner, retaining the slothfullneffe and dissolute life of the Greeks notwithstanding. He burned also the navy there, doing his pleasure on that sea, which as then was ungarded, by reason that Mutianus had given order for the best of the galleys, and all the soldiers to meet him at Byzantium: upon occasion whereof the barbarous people of the country ranged abroad, and robbed without feare of checke or controlment; building them boats on the sudden, which they call Camera, of narrow sides and broad bottoms, wrought and joined together without any brasse or iron, and when the sea goth high, as the waves rise they raise also the sides of the vessell with boords, untill they close and cover it above like a house, and to the boats tumble up and downe in the middle of the waves, 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 moved Vespasian to affigne unto those parts some Vexillary souldiers out of the Legions, and Virdius Geminus for captain, a man of good proofe in service; who setting upon the enemies being in disarray, & dispersed in seeking of spoile, drave them to their boats, and then causing some galleys to be built in hafte, purfued and overtooke Anicetus in the mouth of the river Cohibus, being there under the protection of the king of the Sedoechi, whom he had won by money and gifts to undertake his defence. And indeed at first the king threatened to proteck his suppliant with force of armes: but when as he saw himselfe put to the choyce, to accept either reward for yeelding him, or warre in defending him, as an unconstant and disloyall barbarian, upon composition he surrendered Anicetus to die, and delivered the fugitives, and so end was made of that servile warre. Vespasian being joyfulfull upon the obtaining of this victory, all things succeding unto him above his own wish, was certified soone after being in Egypt of the battell at Cremona, which caufed him to make the more haste to Alexandria, that seeing Vitellius army was defeated and broken, he might preffe also with hunger the city of Rome, standing altogether upon foraine provision. For so likewise he made preparation to invade Africk, situate on the same coast, both by sea and land, meaning to cut off the two storehouses of corne from the enemies and so procure famine, whereof consequently diffension would grow.

Barbarous people also of the country: Others as I thinke beside those which associate themselves with Anicetus: namely the Achaei, Heniochi, and Cerceti dwelling on the other side of Pontus Buxius; and according to Strabo living as they are here described, by piracy.
WHILEST in these general alterations throughout the whole world, the state thus altered and passed, Antonius Primus leaving Cremona, left also his former care of well carrying himself, supposing the warre to be at an end, and no difficulty in that which remained: or else peradventure prosperity, in a man of that disposition, discovered the secret and inward faults of his minde, as covetousness, and pride, and other vices that were suppressed before. Italy he hurried as a conquered countrey: the Legions with all kinde of courtsey he sought to assure himselfe: in summe by all speeches and deeds he made the way to his owne greatnesse. And to give the fouldier the more his owne will, and leave him the bridle at large, of his mere motion he granted unto the Legions the choice of Centurions in their roomes that were slain: by which kinde of election the busiest and troublesomest fellows were chosen; and generally the fouldier was not governed by the direction of his capitaine, but the capitaine drawne by the violence of the fouldier. After these points tending to faction and corrupting of discipline, he converted himselfe to the prey, nothing dreading Mutianus at hand, which was a more hainous offence, then to have contemned Vespasian himselfe. Nevertheless the army marched on, without carriages, because the winter was near, and the fields overflowed with the Po. The ensignes and standards of the conquering Legions, and the aged or impotent fouldiers, with many sound also, were left at Verona. It seemed sufficient, now the warre was in so good a forwardnesse, to take onely the cohorts and wings, and certaine chosen men out of the Legions. Unto this company the eleventh Legion also adjourned themselves, who at the first had made some delay, but seeing the good success of their fellowes were sorry it was their ill hap to be absent: with it there came also fix thousand Dalmatians newly levied. Poppea Silvanus was Lieutenant generall: but the whole directions of matters rested in Annius Ballius Lieutenant of the Legion, who with great industry and quietnesse disposed of all that was to be done, and under colour of obedience governed Silvanus peaceably, being a man of no action in military service, and ruling out the times of doing in talking. To this power were adjoynd the beft of the mariners at Ravenna requiring Legionary service, and in their roomes the Dalmatians were sent to serve at sea. At Fanum Fortune the army and the leaders were at a stop, 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 and guarded against them. But that which caused most feare was want of provision, in a countrey wafted and confused by warre, and the seditious cries of the fouldiers, demanding *Clavarium (which is the name of a donative) of them who had neither provided money nor corn: and the too much haste of the fouldiers hindred greatly, whilest that which in due order might have been taken and servd some while, was in a moment spoiled in snatchting. It is reported by most credible writers, that among the winners there was such a contempt of common honesty, and such unnatural dealings against all lawes humane and divine, that a common fouldier among the horsemens was not ashamed openly to profess, that he had slain his owne brother in the last battell, and to require recompence for the same at the capitaines hands: who neither willing to reward the fact in regard of common humanity, nor daring to punish it in respect.
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respect of the nature of the present warre, deferred the matter, pretending that he had deferved much more, then they were prefently able to give: how it was ended I finde not recorded; notwithstanding in former civill warres I finde the like to have happened. For in the Battell fought against Cinna at Janiculum, one of Pompeys souldiers flew his owne brother, and when he faw what he had done, flew himselfe also, as Sifenna reporteth: so much our ancefors have exceeded us, not onely in glory of their vertues, but in griefe for their faults. Thefe and the like drawne out of ancient history it shall not be amisse to remember, where the place and matters require to set down either * example of that which is good, or com-forts for that which is bad. Now Antonius and the Flavian Captaines being at Fa-num, thought it expedient to fend some horfemen before, and search all the coast of Umbria, to finde some easie and gentle passage over the Apennine: and withall they determined to fend for the standards and enfignes, and all the souldiers 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 * grown now too intolerable, and * better hope was conceived of Mutianus: who being inwardly vexed that the victorie was so speedily gotten, and fearing un-leaf he were prefent at the taking of Rome at the leaft, he should have no part, neither of the war, nor the honour, wrote unto Primus and Varus ambiguously, sometime perfwading to follow with inftance, and sometime discourfing of the profita-blenefs of delaying; framing his speech in fuch fort, that if things fell out ill, hee would clearly defcamne them: if well, he might take them upon him: but to Plotius Grifhus, whom Vefpafian had lately made a Senator and Lieutenant of a Legion, and the reft of his truely friends he gave plaifie direction to stay till his coming: all which perſons returned unto him a plauable answer, and greatly blamed the heady proceeding of Primus and Varus. Thofe Letters Mutianus lent to Vefpafian, and fo procured that Antonius devifes and doings were not accepted according to his expectation. Which thing Antonius tooke very impatiently and imputed the fault thereof unto Mutianus, by whose calumniations he conceived his dangers had growne: neither did he forbear to use hard speeches againft him, as a man of an in-tegrate tongue, and not accustomed to acknowledge any fuperior. He wrote alfo letters to Vefpafian in a more hauy and arrogant tyle, then befeemed a sub-ject to his Prince, with fecret glances and nips at Mutianus: That it was Antonius and no bodie elfe, who firft put in armes the Legions of Pannonia, and brought them into the field: that by his procurement and working the captains of Moefia were firft stirred up to the warre: by his resoluteineffe the Alpes were passed, Italie posfefed, and the aide of the Rhoertians and Germane nations cut off: then, that Vitellius Legions being at difcord and difperfed the vantage was fpied, and they o-verthrowne firft by a furious charge of horfemen, afterward by a power of foot-men for a whole day and a night together; that was indeed the braveft point of the fervice, and his onlye doing: as for the mishap of Cremona, it was a mischance of warre; and that the deciding of other civill diffentions in other ages had coft the Common-wealth much dearer, even the subverfion of many great towns. That he ferved his Prince not with fending of meffages and writing of letters, but with his person and weapon in hand; neither did he envy or hinder their glory, that in the meane time had quieted Moefia: they regarded the peace of Moefia, and he the conservation and safety of Italy. By his periwafions France and Spaine, the moft puiffant parts of the Empire, were joynd to the fide: but all his pains and travell were in vaine, if they alone should reape the rewards, which had no part in the perill.
perill. Mutianus was advertized of all his proceeding, and thereupon eschewed great enmity, which Antonius professed thinly and soildier like, but Mutianus closely, and therefore the more irreconcilably.

X I. Vitellius proceedings and behaviour after the loffe at Cremona. The revolt of the navy at Misenum.

But Vitellius having received so great a blow at Cremona, concealing the news, and foolishly dissembling the matter, differed the remedies of his evils, not the evils themselves. For if he would have plainly confessed it, and taken advice thereupon, he had both hope and strength enough and too much remaining: but when as he contrarily feared that all went on his side, by that untruth he marred his own case, and cut off from himself all means of recovery. In his presence there was no mention of war, but a wonderful silence that way: in the city all speeches of it were forbidden, which caused the more: and they, which if it had been lawful would have talked nothing but truth, 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 chanced to take them, round about the camp, to see and view the strength of their Victorious army, &c dismissing them back to their master. All which at their return Vitellius, after secret examination had, commanded to be made away. But above all other the constancy and resoluteness of the Centurion Julius Agrestis was most notable, who after much speech tending to incite Vitellius to vertue in vain, at length obtained that himself might be sent to view the forces of the enemy, and see what had passed at Cremona. For the performing whereof he fought no corners, but addressed himself 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 survey of all things. So some were sent with him, which shewed him the place where the battle was fought, the ruins of Cremona, the conquered Legions. Agrestis went home againe, and making relation, when as Vitellius would not believe his report, but charged him with untruth, and further that he was hired thereto: Seeing then (quoth 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 bloud. Some write that he was slain by Vitellius comandement, but of his fidelity and constancy they reported the same. Now Vitellius being as it were awaked out of sleepe, commanded Julius Prificus and Alphenus Varus with fourteen Praetorian cohorts, and all the wings of the horsemens to keep the straits of the Apennine. After them followed a Legion of Seamen, a power both for number and goodnesse of men and horses sufficient (if another had beene Generall) to make war offensive, not onely to stand upon their defence. The rest of the cohorts were committed to Lucius Vitellius his brother to guard the city withall. Himself abating nothing of his wonted riot, and hasty through distrust, hudled up the election of officers, wherein he declared Consuls for many yeares to come. Moreover new treaties and more gracieous were concluded without alleys, and the right of Latium conferred upon strangers. To some he released their tributes, to others he granted immunities, without all care of posterity mangling and mayming the Empire. But the common fort accepted these favours that seemed so great, and the foolish bought them with money, which wife

Suet. Vitel. c. 11. comitia in decem annos ordinavit seque perpetuum confixum.
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wife men accounted but voide, being such as could neither be given nor taken with the safety of the state. At the last through the instant request of his army lying in Mestania, with a great traine of Senators assumed, partly upon sute and most upon feare, he repaired to the camp irre olute of him selfe, and obnoxious to unfaithfull counsels. As he was speaking to his souldiers in publike assemblie, it fell out so many unluckie birds to flye over his head (a monstrous matter) that the day was overcast: as it were with a black cloud: and another no leffe ominous and of evil presage, that a bull which was appointed to be sacrificed, brake away from the altars, overturned the furniture of the ceremone, and was knocked downe farre off from the accustomed place. But the greatest monter was Vitellius him selfe, a Prince without skill in the prouection of armes, and devoie of discretion and counsell, demanding of his souldiers of others in what order to march, what diligence was requisite in making discoveries, what meanes was to be oberved in urging or delaying the warre, and upon every flying report apparently fearfull in countenance, and trembling in gate, and besides all this most commonly drunken. At the length growing weary of the camp, and under standing of the revolt of the navy at Milenum, here turned to Rome, ever fearing most the blow that came last, and careless in the mean time of the maine chance. For whereas it had been a course most clear in reason, & evident in fight, to have passed the Appennine with his army, which then was in heart and strength, and so to have assaulted the enemies almost consumed with hunger and cold, he on the other side fell to dispersing his forces, and so abandoned his best and faithfullest souldiers, whom he left thereby to the enemies mercy, and delivered them as it were into their hands; contrary to the opinion of the most expert Centurions, who disliked greatly the disuniting, and if their advise had been asked, would have told plainly their mind: but Vitellius inwardly friends hindered them from access, the Princes eares being so framed, that he accounted all that was wholesome, and liked of nothing, but that which was presently pleasant, and after wards hurtfull. But the navy at Milenum (so much the audacieusness even of one single man in civil diffentions may worke) was brought to revolt by the meanes of Claudius Faventinus, a Centurion ignominiously caffed by Galba, who counterfeiting letters from Vespanian, with hope of reward induced them to change their allegiance. The Admirall thereof was Claudius Apollinaris, a man that neither constantly kept his fidelitie, nor stoutly maintained his trea son: and Apinius Tiro, who had beene Pre tor, and was then by chance at Minurzum, offered himselfe a head to them which revolted; by whose means the colonies, and free townes were drawne to the side, the Puteolanis shewing themselvs most forward that way. But Capua on the other side, perfified firme to Vitellius: where upon there paffed under colour of the publike cause, much privacie choler between the two townes. To the pacification of these troubles Vitellius chose our Claudius Julianus (who had beene late Admiral of the navy at Milenum, and governed himselfe in that charge with great mildnesse) as the meatest man to appease the souldiers minde; affigning unto him a power of one city cohort, and the "fencers which were under his charge. As soon as the campes approached the one to the other, Julianus without any great stay turned to Vespanians side, and so joyntly they took Tarracina, a place of great strength in regard of the wals and situation, if the men within had beene faithfull and good. Upon knowledge whereof Vitellius leaving part of his navie at Narnia, with the captains of his Guard, sent his brother Lucius Vitellius away with six cohorts, and five hundred horse, to manage the warre of Campania. Himselfe being greatly perplexed in minde was yet somewhat revi
of Cornelius Tacitus.

ved with the earnest good will of the fouldiers, and clamours of the town people requiring armour and weapons, whom being nought else but a cowardly company, whose boldnesse never 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 trusty) he commanded the tribes to be called, and swear them which gave in their names: too many presenting themselves, he divided the charge of the mutter between the two Consuls, and afflict all the Senate at a certaine number of bondmen, and quantitie of silver. The Gentlemen 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 forwardnesse made the offices that were done for feare, be thought to proceed of good will. And indeed many pitied not so much the man, as the place he sustaine: and Vitellius himself ceased not by his countenance, speech, tears, to provoke and compulsion and pity, promising largely, and (as the nature is of men in great feare) without measure. Moreover he took then upon him (which he had refused before) the style of Caesar, upon some superstitious conceit of the name, and because in a time of feare, the counsellors of wise men, and prattling of the people are heard and respected alike. But as all actions entred into upon heat without consideration are strongest in the beginning, and afterward fade and decay, so here the Senators began by little and little to thinke, and the Gentlemen likewise; at the first with some respect and in Vitellius absence, but afterward more openly, being afaide and penitve for the danger which was like to enue, till in the end Vitellius seeing the attempt not feable, for shame was contented, not to demand that he could not obtaine.

1 New treaties: Fædera sociis, Latium externis that is, to our socii their fæderas were renewed with a furtherincrease of exemptions and privileges; and to forrainers that privilege was granted, that those which had borne annual office with them should by that means become Romani: for that is the main poine of jus Latii. App. 2.

2. No lees ominous] the breaking away of the beafl at sacrifice was among Romans an ominous matter. Titus a little before his death Sabines petis, Gaeth Summorum, Almquto trifites, quid sanftiam bohis aestayed. Idem b Juv. 1. 1: Cum innumeros auterq. bohis jenser prof. ab omnibus non diuidas. Et Sall. 4. Taurus fumerit ilia conforentia super vere colu effidum ejus inustis. Fellius, Paschaliara vocantmen, quid peractioues huius terrae et domus, cum aut bohis ab ara prof. cere. b Cap. 10. 2. 2. aut prof. mjuvinum disihit, aut in elemo partim corporis quam opponeret disihit. Plin. lib. 4. Hannoismut viuinus ad aras d Cap. 45. 3. humerus bonum ab alio non intatur, nec alena bohis des placit, nec trahente fe ab aliis.

XII. The Flavianists passe over the Appennine. The Vitellianists at Narnia yield themselves. The death of Fabius Valens.

A

The posseffing of Mevania by the Vitellianists had wrought great terror in Italy, seeing another warre as it were sprung up a fresh by that means, so of the contrary side the departure of Vitellius in so fearfull manner procured great credit, and good to the Flavian caufe. For presently thereupon the Samnites, and Peligni, and Marth revolted; and upon emulation that Campania had prevented them, to recompen their slacknesse, as men newly come to a new matter, shewed extreme diligence in furthering the service. But in passing the Appennine the army by the founnes of the winter weather was greatly distreffed, and marching with all libertie and quietnesse could hardly wretche out of the snow, so that it was cleare to be seene, what danger they must needs have sustaine, if fortune to which
which the Flavian Captaines were more often beholding, then to their good guid-
ing and skill, had not turned Vitellius back home againe. In the mountaines Pet-
lius Cerealis met them, who in clownish apparell through knowledge of the coun-
trey had escaped Vitellius hands. Cerealis was of neere affinitie 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 easily have escaped, and certaine it is, that divers messengers sent by Antonius by fundry cunning fleights came to their speech, pointing the place, and offering them means for their safety: but Sabinus alleadged that his crazy body was not to undertake a matter of that paines, and such an audacious attempt. Domitian would have gladly ventured, but he feared the keepers whom Vitellius had set about him, although they offered to accompany him in his escape, left peradventure it had bene a snare to in-
trap him: and indeed Vitellius himselfe, in regard of his owne kinsfolkes, intent-
ed no crueltie against Domitian. When the Flavian captains were come to Cæra-
ula, they stayed there a fewe daies to repose their army till their Legionary power shou-
d overtake them: and the place of the campe in it selfe was delightfull, with a large
goodly prospect, and very safe for the provision of victuals, having so many of the wealthie Cities, as it were storehouses behinde him. And besides they were in some hope that the Vitellianiists, which were not distant above tenne miles would fall to some parle, and so from a parle to a revolt: which thing the souldiers could not abide to hear of, but defiréd an end rather by conquest, then by peace: even their owne Legions they were unwilling to stay for, loath to have more fellows in the spoile, when they needed none in the danger. But Antonius calling them publicly together, shewed unto them, that Vitellius had yet some forces remaining, wavering perhaps and unconstant if they might have time to consult, but of fierce flomach it they were driven to despair: that the beginnings of civil warres were to be permitted to fortunes deciding, but the accomplishment of the victory was to be governed by reason and wisdom: that the navy of Misenum, and the most flourishing countrey of Campania were already revolted, and there remained no-
thing of all the world unto Vitellius, save only so much as lay between Tarracina and Narnia: and surely they had wonne honour sufficient in the Battell at Cremon-
a, and blame too much by destroying the towne. Therefore they should not now desire to take Rome, but rather to save it: their reward would be greater, and their glory most great, if they wrought the safety of the Senat and people of Rome without bloudshed. With these and other like speeches their minds were mollifi-
ced, and soone after the Legions came. The Vitellian cohorts terrified with the
same of the army so much increased, began to waver, no man animating them to the warre, but many to revolt, who desired to make a present of their bands and cornets unto the conquerour, to purchase favour hereafter; and gave also adver-
tisement, that faft thereby at Interamna was a garrison of foure hundreth horse. Whereupon immediately Varus was dispatched with a band of men lightly appoint-
ed, and slew some few that made resistance: but the most part laid downe their weapons and yeelded themselves to his mercy: some fled to the campe at Narnia, and filled all there full of feare and terrorre, extolling above truth the forces and va-
lour of the enemies, to diminish their owne dishonour in losing their fort. Neither was there any punishment for offences among the Vitellianiists; on the other side the rewards were apparent of those that revolted: so that from thenceforth the contention was, who should be most traitour, and daily some of the Tribunes and Centurions fled to the enemy: for the common souldier was obinintely bent for Vitellius.
Vitellius, until Priscus and Alphenus Generals forsook 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 Urbin. His head was openly shewed to the Vitellian Cohorts to put them out of all hope: for before they believed that he was escaped into Germany and putting in arms both old and new soldiers there: but when they saw he was dead, they began to despair. The Flavian Army also took a wonderful conceit as if his death were undoubtedly the end of the war. Valens was born at Anagnia, of a gentlemañ's house, loose in conditions, and not without grace in seeking by wanton jests the name of apleasant conceit. In the games of Juvenalia in Neroes time he played a part, first as it were by compulsion, then voluntarily, with more dexterity than credit. Being created Lieutenant of a Legion he both sought to prefer Verginius to the Empire, and then to disgracethe same Capito his Lieutenant Generall, either because he was entered into treason, or because he could not induce him to treason, he murdered and made away. A trystour he was no doubt to Galba, and true to Vitellius, a virtue in him so much the more eminent, because so many others were false. Now the Vitellian soldiers 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 down into the plain under Narnia under their ensignes and banners displayed, the Flavian army ftood armed with their weapons bent, as in battle, in thick ranks along the way side. So the Vitellianists were received in the middle, and being so inclined about, Antonius entertained 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 repress them if they rebelled.

XIII. Vitellius upon composition with Flavius Sabinus Vespasians brother, offereth to resigne up the Empire. Sabinus by the soldiers is driven out into the Capitol, and there besieg'd. The Capitol is burnt: Sabinus taken and slaine.

During their abode at Carcula, Antonius and Varus sent continually messagers unto Vitellius, offering him, if he would surcease Armes, and yeeld himselfe and his children to Vespasian mercy, life, money, and what secret place he would chuse of Campania to retire himselfe into: to the same effect Murianus wrote also unto him: and Vitellius oftentimes gave eare thereunto, entering into speech about the number of his servants, and the choice of the place. So great a sentiment he had possessed his minde, that if other men had not remembered, that he had beene once Prince, and therefore was not to look for securitie in private estate, hee himselfe would have quickly forgotten it. But the principal men at Rome secretly incited Flavius Sabinus being Provost of the City, to put himselfe into the cause, and undertake part of the victory and of the honour: making remonstrance unto him, that the City Cohorts was his owne peculiar soldier, the Cohorts of the Watch-men would questionless take his part, and their owne retinue of bond-men should be at his disposition; beside the fortune of the side, and the eafe course of proceeding they finde, that be in traine of winning: that he should not yeeld the honour of the Action to Antonius and Varus: that Vitellius had but few cohorts in number, and those discouraged and trembling at the evil news that came out of all quarters:
quarters: the common people was fickle and changeable; and if Sabinus would present himselfe for a head, they would use the same flattering tearmes for Vespasian, which now they did to the other: as for Vitellius he was a man not able to govern himselfe in prosperitie, much leffe sufficient to weild and winde out of his declining estate: that the honor of finishing the war would be his who first should take possesion of the Citie; and so were it fit in all congruity, both for Sabinus to serve the Empire to his brother, and for Vespasian to esteem of all other mens service secondarily to Sabinus. These warlike speeches made but a fleder impression in his feeble old minde, and some did secretly suspeete & charge him that thowr ownd envy and emulation he sought rather to hinder his brothers good fortune. For Flavius Sabinus was the elder brother, and exceeded Vespasian both in riches and authoritie, while they were both private men, and was thought to have saved his credit and kept him from breaking by lending him money, but taking in morgage his house & lands for repairement thereof: whereupon albeit in outward faw they continued friends, yet some secret jelousies were feared between the. But the better interpretation was, that being a milde man he abhorred from slaughter and bloud, and therefore treated divers times with Vitellius of a peaceable composing of matters upon conditions. And after divers meetings at his house, at the laft a capitulation was concluded upon (as the fame went) in the temple of Apollo, only two persons, Cluvius Rufus and Silius Ilicus being witnesses of their words: their countenances were noted afar off by the beholders: Vitellius seemed abject and base, Sabinus not insulting, but pitying rather. And if Vitellius could as easilie have persuaded his friends, as he was ready to yeeld himselfe, Vespasianes Army had entered the City without bloudshed: but the loyal and faithful servants of Vitellius flatly rejected all speech of peace and conditions, declaring the danger and dishonor thereof, & that the performance confuted only in the winners good pleasure. Nay said they, Vespasian will not be so confident, as to suffe Vitellius to live, though in a private estate: or if he would, yet your very owne fouldiers and friends will not abide it: and so through their pitty your life shall come in danger. You are old, and therefore for your part, as one that hath had his both fortunes, are content to accept of conditions; but what title and state shall your little son Germanicus have? now they offer money, servants, & the pleasing places of Campania to solace you in, but when Vespasian shall once be settled in the Empire, neither he, nor his friends, nor his fouldiers will think themselves safe, while but a concurrant doth live. Even Fabius Valens, whom they had in prison, and reserved in store if ought should go wrong, was too heavy for them to endure: much leffe are we to think, that Antonius and Fucus and the chief flower of the side M. Antonius, willotherwise deal with Vitellius then to make him away. Cæsar left not Pompey alive nor Augustus Antonius, unless perhaps Vespasian carry a braver mind, the meanest among many of your fathers followers & clients, when he was fellow in office with Claudius the Emperor. Nay rather as it befethmeth you being son of thrice Conful & Cæfor, as it became tho many honorable titles of your most noble houfe, let despare at the leaft arme you to courage and boldneffe. The fouldiers perfite for you: the good wil of the people continueth yet very fervent: in summe no greater harme can happen, then that which we run into voluntarily, die we must, if we be overcome, & die we shal, if we yeeld: the difference only is this, whether we should end our lives vertuously and with honour, or with shame and perpetuall reproch. But Vitellius cares were stopped against all manifold counsels; his minde was overcome with care and pity, left with too long refitting he should leave the conqueror leffe merciful to his wife and children. A mother also he had of great years, but
but the died some few daies before, very reasonably not to see the ruin of her house, having gained nothing by her sons preferment, but sorrow & a good name. Upon the eighteenth day of December, hearing off he revolt of the Legions & cohorts at Narnia, he departed out of the Palace in mourning weed, with his servants all sad and weeping about him, and withall in a small chair was carried his little young sonne, as it were to his buriall. The people in passing used their accustomed flatteries, being as then out of feacon: the fouldier kept silence, but seemed to carry wrath in his countenance: neither was there any man so senflesse, or unmindfull of humane instability, which was not moved with that sight. An Empe- rour of Rome, a little before Lord of the whole world, to abandon the seat of his state, and thorow the people, the citie to go out of the Empire! The like was never seene, never heard of before. Sudden violence oppressed Caesar the Dictator, and secret conspiracie Caius: night and the obscure corner of a countrey house covered Neroes flight: Piso and Galba died as it were in the field: but Vitellius in the assem- bly of his owne people, midst his one fouldiers, women also looking out of their windowes, after he had uttered these few speeches agreeable to his present heavi- nesse; that he gave place in regard of quietuе, and the good of the weale publicke, onely desiring them to retaine some remembrance of him, and take pity of his brother and his wife, and the harrmes age of his young children, preuenting withall his son unto them, and recommending him sometimes to particular persons sometime to the generall assembly: at the length overcome with tears he loosed his sword from his side and offered it unto Cæcius Simplex the Consul that stood 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 gain saying it, he departed protestting he would in the temple of Concord lay down all his regali- ties, and so as a privateman retire himselfe eto his brothres house. But there the multitude began to cry more then before, not sufferinge him to enter into a private house, but calling him to the Palace stopping up the other passage, and leaving that onely open which let to Via sacra. Whereupon not knowing what to do, or whither to turn him, he returned in the end to the Palace again. Now the fame was gone before the fact that he had resigned the Empire: and Flavius Sabinus had written to the Tribunes of the cohorts, to keep their soldiers in order. And now as if the whole commonwealth were fallen into Vespasion arms, the chiefe of the Senators with many gentlemen, and all the city-fouldiers, and the watchmen flocked to Sabi- nus house. There they understood of the peoples constant affection toward Vitellius, and the threatnings of the German cohorts: but Sabinus had proceeded too farre now to draw back, and every man upon his owne particular fear urged him being otherwise loath to goe out and take armes, left the Vitellianists should meete with them afterward when they were fewered, and so of lesse strength. But as it falls out in such cases, all gave counsell, but few tooke part of the peril. About Lactus Fundani the armed men of Sabinus were encountered by some of the most res-olute Vitellia soldiers: there a small skirmish was fought, as in a sudden tumult, where in the Vitellianists had the better. Sabinus seeing his side go down, as the safest way upon the present, seazed upon the Capitol with his fouldier, and some Senators and gentlemen, whose names it is not easy to set downe, because many when Vespasion was prince pretended to have done that service to the side. Some women also retired into the Capitol, and there were besieged: amongst whom the most famous was Verulana Gracilia, drawn neither with respect of children, nor kinsfolk, but only be- cause she would be of a party. The Vitellianists having pinned them up, set the sen- tinels
tinels so negligently, that about midnight Sabinus set forth and brought into the Capitol his own children, and Domitian his brothers son, and dispatched out other meffengers to the Flavian captains, shewing them how they were besieged, and unlesse succour came, were in great danger, & passed the whole night in that quietnes without any attempt from the enemy, that he might have easily escaped without any perill. For the Vitellian fouldiers 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 sudden hindered both their fight and their hearing. When the day appeared, before any act of hostility was begunne by either, Sabinus sent Cornelius Martialis a principal Centurion with instructions to Vitellius, complaunting and charging him with breach of covenants and that it was but a colourable matter in him, and a fained shew of resigning the Empire, onely to intrap so many noble personages: for if otherwise, why withdrew he himselfe from the Rostra, into his brothers house standing neer to the Forum, and full in the sight of the world, & not rather to his wives in mount Aventine out of the way; for so had it been meeteste indeed if he had meant to have lived as a private man, & avoided all shew of a Prince: whereas contrariwise he returned again even into the Palace, the very feate of the Empire, and from thence he sent forth a company of armed men, who had polluted the most famous part of the city with the bloud of innocent persons, not forbearing the Capitolitselfe: for his part he continued unarmed, and lived in all respects as an other Senator, whilst in the mean time the matter was tried betweene Vespasian and Vitellius by maine battels of Legions, taking of towne, and yeelding of cohorts: yea, when Spaine, Germanie and Brtanny were revolted, yet did he being Vespasian 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 indeed for the glory of the conquerors, but for the utility of the conquered: or if it repented him of his bargaine, let him not make war against him, whom he had with falhood beguiled, nor against Vespasian young sonne (for what would the death of an old man and one child avail?) but let him go out and encounter the Legions, and there trie the maine matter: other things would follow the event of that battell. To this charge Vitellius in great feare made an answer, with some words in excuſe of himselfe, & laying the blame upon his fouldiers, whose too much vehemens, his modesty, he said, was unable to bridle: and withall advised Martialis to convey himselfe out of the house by a privie way left the fouldiers should murder him as a negotiatour of the peace, which they so greatly detested: and indeed 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 Capitol, when as the Vitellian fouldiers, in a great fury were also at hand, without any leader or captain, but every man of his owne head: leaving with speede the Forum and temples upon it behinde them they set themselves in array and marched up the hill, even to the first gate of the Capitol. There were in old time certaine open galleries upon the side of the cliff, on the right hand as a man goeth up, from the tops whereof the defendants with stones and tiles beat the Vitellianists down, who had in their hands nothing but swords, and to stay while engines and shot were fetched seemed loeft time: wherefore they took firebrands and hurled them into the uttermost gallery, and following the fire were at the point to have entred the gate of the Capitol being halfe burned, had not Sabinus pluckt downe all the images and glorious monuments of our progenitors, and in the entrance of the gate made as it were a countermure of them. Then they assaied to make their entrie on the other side
of Cornelius Tacitus.

side of the Capitol by Lucus Afuli, and by the styres of a hundreth steps, in the ascent to Rupe Tarpeia. At both these places the assault came unlook'd for, but the nearer and hotter was that by the Asylum: neither could they be stopp'd from climbing up by the buildings that touched together, which as in a time of long peace were rais'd to the height of the floore to the Capitol. Here it is doubted whether the assailers fired those buildings, or (as the more received opinion is) the defendants thereby to repulse them which press'd forward, and where come so farre on; but howsoever it was, the fire there beginning, from thence run along the galleries that joyned to the Temples: then the Eagles which bare up the roofe being of old drie timber drew and maintained the flame. And to the Capitol, the gate being flue, no man defending it, no man attempting to stoppe it, was burned to ashes: and the most lamentable mishance, and detestable fact that ever befell the people of Rome since the City was founded, especially no foraine enemy invading, and the gods most plentifully powring their benefits upon us, if our owne evil conditions would have permitted us to enjoy them: the seat of the great god Jupiter founded by our ancestors with the approbation of the gods, (1) as a pledge of the Empire, which neither, (2) Porcius when the City was yeelded, nor the Frenchmen when they took it, could hurt, thus to be destroyed by the fury of our owne Princes! It was once also burn'd before in a civill warre, but by private malice: now it was publicly besieged, and publicly burn'd: and that not in honorable defence of our country, which might some what lighten the loffe, but in the ambitious upholding of partialties & sides. The Capitol was vow'd first by king Traquinus Priscus in the war against the Sabins, (3) who laid also the foundation, rather according to the hope of future greatnesse, then proportionable to the present estate of the Romans. After him Servius Tullus with the helpe of our allies, and Tarquinius Superbus with the spoile, when Sueca Pometia was taken, finish'd the worke: but the honor thereof was refer'd to the time of liberty. For (4) after the kings were driven out, Horatius Pulvillus in his second Consulship dedicated it, in that magnificent and sumptuous sort, that the excessive wealth of the Romans which afterward followed, perchance might adorn and beautifie the worke, but did not augment it. Four hundred and fifty yeares afterward, when Lucius Scipio and Caius Norbanus were (5) Consuls it was burned and builded againe upon the same foundation. Sylla after he had gotten the upper hand tooke the care of it upon him, yet hee did not dedicate it: this point only he wanted to make him indeed, as he was in (6) name perfectly happy: but Lutatius Catulus name remained to bee seene among so many worke of the Emperours, even untill Vitellius time. That building then was fired, which dismay'd more the defendants then the assailers, for the Vetellian fouldiers lacked neither skill, nor resolution in cafes of difficulty: but on the other sides the fouldier was fearfull, the Captaine without courage, and as a man halfe distract, had neither the use of his tongue, nor his ears, nor governing himselfe by the advise of others, & yet not able to resolve of himselfe, but running about from one place to another, at every cry of the enemy, forbad that he had comman'd, and commanded againe that he had forbidden. Anon, as it happeneth in loft and desperate cases, every man was a commander, and no man a putter in execution: at the length casting away their weapons, they began to devise how to flee and escape secretly away. Then the Vetellianists brake in and killed, burned, and flew; some few military men that offered to fight were slaine: among whom Cornelius Martialis, Aemilius Pacensis Casperius Niger, Didius Scæva were the most of note. Flavius Sabinus was beſet and taken, being neither armed, nor attempting to flee.
flee, and Quintius Atticus the Consull, a man of speciall mark by reason of his office, and through his owne vanity and folly, having published edicts in honour of Vespasian, and to the disgrace of Vitellius. The rest made sundry shifts to escape, some in bondmens apparell, others were hidden by their clients, and conveyed away amongst theuffle: some there were also that had learned the Vitellianists watch-word; whereby one of them knew another, and so asking and answering accordingly: used boldnesse in lie 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 linnen garment, as the ministers of the temple did. And so escaped unknown, and lay secret at the house of Cornelius Primus, one of his fathers followers, neere to the Velabrum. Afterward when his father came to the state he pull'd downe the sextens lodging, and builded there a little chappell in honor of Jupiter his Preserver: and also erected an altar and caused this history to be cut in marble: and when he came to the Empire himselfe he built a great Temple to Jupiter his Keeper: and consecrated himselfe in the lap of the god. Sabinus and Atticus being loaden with yrons, and brought to Vitellius, were neither received with ill speech, nor ill countenance; whereat they which challenged to kil them, & reward for their service, freted and chafed: and so the next beginning the cry, the rafcall fort of the people demanded Sabinus death, mingled threats and flatteries together. And as Vitellius presented himselfe upon the Itayres of the palace to intreat for his life, they forced him in the end to defilt: then they stabb'd and mangled him, and cutting off his head traileth the body into Gemoniae. This was the end of Sabinus, a man freely not to be contemned. He had serv'd in publike place thirty five years, and was greatly renowned both for matters of peace and of warre: for integritie and upright dealing no man could touch him: somewhat he was two full of words, the onely thing blamed in him during the seven years that he ruled in Moesia, and the twelve yeares that he was Provoff of the City: in this last act of his life some judged him cowardly, others moderate rather and iparing 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 quietnesse, all strife and emulation being thereby taken up betweene two, whereof the one was the Emperours brother, and the other carried him selfe as his fellow. But Vitellius when the people required alio Atticus the Consuls death plainly withheld them him selfe, being somewhat appeased, and in some fort to require him, for that being examined, who had first fired the Capitol, he took upon him the matter him selfe, and by that confeision, whether it was true indeed, or fained onely to serve the present purpose, seemd to take upon him the blame of the fact, and cleere Vitellius and his adherents.

1 As a pledge of the Empire] Livius lib.1.  Scutum aliud magnitudinem imperi portendens prodigium est, caput humanum integra fato aperiri us fundamenta templi distantia aperisse: quae vis species baud per ambages autem tam imperii capax, quae rectum vis pmendam, idque tueres postremum, idque in sequentes vates quique in suberant, quasque ad eam cum consilium eam ex Hermoni acce- 2 Dioclet. lib. 4. reporteth the words of the answer made to certaine meffengers from Rome proceding into Britain, where we have giv'n such matter in our last chapter. where it is not only possible, but certaine, that the city was taken by Porſennas hostage given to Porſenna Dionyſius lib.5. and Livy lib.2. make mention of surrendering the City I finde no word spoken by any other we have extant fare Tacitus, or by any memonimentum vitellium, quod exitium tune ejus recuperavit. Quae si quidem alioque monumentum "quidem" and that head found. This head was found in Italy. Varro lib.4. de ling. Lat. Capitolium delatum quod hic fundamenta fodiorum aut faciis capitum humanum inventum est, hic non ante Tarpeia delius a virgine Villa Tarpeia que sub Sabini montis arma & ludicrium monimentum deliberari. In the tenth and twelue yeares of the City I fance no word spoken by any other we have extant fare Tacitus, or by any memonimentum vitellium, quod exitium tune ejus recuperavit. Quae si quidem alioque monumentum deliberari.
of Cornelius Tacitus.

Who Lyd also according to Dionyfius * Haly. Tarquinius Priscus did but only level the ground: Tar- 

quinius Superbus laid the foundations and builded most of it up, but did not communicate the works, * Lib. 3.

That is, but the Temple was finished, and the annual magistrates, the third year after they came in. Read the same Dionyfius, lib. 4., and lib. 6. But it may seem that Tacitus took hold of these words in Livy lib. 3. Tarquinius Priscus accur ad edam in Capitolio superseculum funda- 

mentum: which notwithstanding is not otherwise intended, but of levelling the ground, and making it ready for the laying of the foundation. For Superbus, as it appeareth by the same Livy, was the man that laid the foundation. Of Servius Tullius in this building I have not found mention else where to my remembrance.

XIII. Lucius Vitellius takes Tarracina.

IN the mean season Lucius Vitellius pitching his camp at Feronia, pressed sore upon Tarracina to take it, having hurled into the town the * fencers & mariners, * Gladiatores.

who durst not come out of the walls, nor hazard themselves in the field. Their captaines as (we have remembered before) were Julianus over the fencers, and A. pollinaris over the mariners, men both in a distollutnes, and insufficiency more like fencers then captains: observing no order in watching and warding, not repaying the weake parts of the walls, but passing both nights and daies in wantonneffe and melody, upon those pleasant sea-shores, and dispersing the fouldiers abroad to make provision for their riot, never talking of war, but in banquet. Apinius Tiro was departed some few daies before, and with his extortions and sharpe dealing in the free townes, purchased more ill will then strength to the side. In the mean time a servant of Virginius Capito fled out of the town to Lucius Vitellius, promising him, if he would allow him sufficient men, to deliver secretly the castle being unmanned, 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 fouldiers ran down rather to a butchery then a battell, killing some unarmed, others beginning to arme, some newly awaked out of sleepe distracted and confounded with feare, darkneffe, and sound of trumpets and noife of enemies. A few of the * fencers made resitance, and were slaine, albeit they sold their lives dear: the rest ran headlong to the ships, where through the like feare all things were in the like confusion; or so much the more because the townemen were gotten in amongst them, whom the Vitellianists also did kill without any difference. Six ships upon the notice of the surprife escaped, and with them Apollinaris the Admiral of the navie: the rest were either taken upon the shore, or else sunk in the sea, * being overcharged with the company that leapt into them. Julianus was brought to Lucius Vitellius and scourged, then slaine in his presence. Divers have accused Triaria Lucius Vitellius wife, that girding her selfe with a sword like a fou- 

dier, she should have demeaned her selfe cruelly, and infolutely amidst the pitifull cries, and lamentable destruction of the poore town. Lucius him selfe sent a lawrell in token of victorie to his brother, requiring withall his further pleasure, 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 fouldiers presently after their victorie had directly repaired to Rome, whereas they were in courage and heart, by reason of their late good successe, beside a naturall obstinatenesse in them, the matter would not have beene ended so quickly without much ado, and the evident destruction of the city. For Lucius Vitellius albeit he were infamous otherwise, yet was he industrious, and powerable not as good men by vertues, but by vices as the worst sort.

X V. Thé
Wiles these things were a doing of Vitellius side Vespasians armie removed from Narnia to Otriculum, and at good leisure celebrated the Saturnalia there. The cause of this harmefull 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 could revolt, in reward of treason: others affirm, that all this was fallly furnish’d, and maliciously sried to please Mutianus withall. Some are of opinion, that it was the purpose of all the Commanders rather to put the City in feare, then to seek to take it by force, seeing the moat and principall cohorts had already relinquished Vitellius, and how all the strength being cut off, it was likely he would resigne the Empire without further coaction: but all that course was crossed, first by Sabinus halfe, and then through his cowardlines, who rashly taking armes was not afterward able to keep a forttis 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 some occasion of stay, by means of his doubtfull letters, and Antonius by his preposterous obeying, or in seeking to avoid envy, deserved great blame, and the other Commanders presuming the warre to be finisht, made the end of it more notorious. Neither did Petilius Cerealis (who was sent before with a thousand horse, to coaft through the countrye of the Sabin’s, and so to enter the City by Via Salaria) make that haste as the matter required, till in the end the newes of the siege of the Capitol made him firre all at once. Antonius came forward by the Flaminian way to Saxa rubra late in the night, and too late to succour. For there he understood that Sabinus was slaine, the Capitol burned, the City in great seare, and all things went ill: it was also declared, that the people and bondmen were arming for Vitellius. And besides Petilius Cerealis had received a blow in a skirmish of horsemens, by running headlong and charging rashly upon the enemy, presuming them conquered persons: but the Vitelliani, with horsemens and footmen interlaced together, valiantly received the charge. This skirmish was not farre from the City, among the buildings, and gardens, and croffe lanes, wherewith the Vitelliani were well acquainted, the other not: which was an occasion to dismay them the more: and besides all their horsemens were not of one minde and affection, some being of those that having lately yeelded at Narnia kept aloafe, meaning afterward to close with the winner. Tullius Flavianus captain of a wing was taken prisoner, the rest ranne away dishonourably: but the Vitelliani pursu’d no further then to Fidenæ. By this successe the affection of the people was greatly augmented, and immediately the townesmen took arms: few had many military targets, but the most took up 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 army, which as in the name and under the color of a common-meale, should persuade them to peace and agreement. The hap of the Embassadors was not all alike: For they which met with Petilius Cerealis incurred extreme danger, the fouldiers refusing utterly all conditions of peace, & Arulenus Rusticus the Prætor was wounded, which beside the enormity of the fact, in the person of an Embassador...
fadour and a Pretor, was also more hainous, in regard of the worthinesse of the man.

His traine was dispersed, and one of his sergeants next before him slain, for presuming among armed men to make way thowr the prease for his master: and unlesse they had been defended by a band that the Captaine aligned to guard them, the right and privilege of Embassadors, reputed sacred even amongst strange nations, had through civil furie been violated by murder, even at the very gates and walls of the citie. But they which came to Antonius found more courteous entertainment, not because those soldiers were civillier, but because the General was of greater authority. Into the company of these Embassadors Mutilius Rufus inferred himself, a gentleman of Rome addicted to the studie of Philosophie after the way of the Stoicks, who thrusting himselfe among the companies of the soldiery began to discourse of the good of peace, and danger of warre, and to choule men in armes: at which many scoffed, more grew weary of it, and some forbare not to puff and spurne him away, till in the end by the devise of the discreeter fort, and the threats of the other he was perwaded to desist from his uneaſonable wisedome. The Vestall Virgins also were sent with letters from Vitellius to Antonius, requesting him to defer the battell for one day: by meane of that little delay with more ease would all points be agreed upon. The virgins were sent home with honour, and answer 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 extremity to be looked for: not withstanding Antonius calling his armie togethuer affaid to pacifie them thus farre, that they would be content to encamp themselves for that present at the Milvian bridge, and not to enter the towne before the next day; the reason of the motion was, left the soldiery having his bloud heated in skirmeſh, shoulde afterward spare neither people nor Senate, no not the churches and temples of the gods. But they misliked and suspected all delay as a hinderance to the victory: and withall certaine bannesses glittering upon the side of the hills, albeit followed by none but towne people, and men of service, made a shew of an army. Whereupon the Flaviainits dividing themselves into three companies, made their approch to the towne: one part as it stood along the Flaminian way, another close by the банков of the Tiber, and the third by Viafalaria toward the gate called Collina. The towne people was immediately broken by the horſmen, but the Vitellian soldiery made head, dividing alfo themselves into three severall bandes. Many skirmeſhes paſſed betweene them before the towne, & with divers event, but more commonly to the advantage of the Flaviainits, who had more sufficient men to their Captaines. They onely of that side were disstroſed, which turned upon the left hand toward the Saluſtian gardens, through narrow lanes and slipperie waies; where the Vitellianits standing aloft upon the waſts of the gardens, with stones & javelins repulſed them, till it was towards the evening, when so the horſmen that in the mean time had entred at Collina were at their backs and surprized them. In Campus Martius also there were hot skirmeſhes betwixt them. The Flaviainits had the favour of fortune, and the vantage of many victories: the Vitellianits ran headlong and furious supported with onely daſpare, and albeit they were defeated and broken, yet did they rally themselves again in the city. The people stood by and looked on as they fought, and as in a paftime or game clapped their hands, and encouraged sometime the one, and sometime the other: and when either side turned their backs, and hid themselves in houses or shops, they cried to have them pluckt out & killed, and so attained themselves the greatest part of the prey: for whiles the soldiery minded nothing but slaughter and bloudſhed, the spoile fell to the common peoples share. Over all the city
citie a cruell spectacle and shamefull was to be seene: in one place fighting and
wounding, in other tippling and bathing: here streams of bloud, and heapes of dead
bodies, & hard by it strumpets and strumpets fellows: in sum all the licenciousnes of
a dissolute and riotous peace, and the misery of a most cruel captivitie: so that a man
plainly would judge one and the same town, both extremely furious and raging, and
extremely drowned in pleasures. There had afores time passed great conflicts be-
tween armed powers in the city, twice when Sylla, and once when Cinna overcame,
and the cruelty then was no lesse: but this was an unnatural brutish security, that men
for one moment of time would not intermit their accustomed pleasures, but as if
this had given them further occasio of joy amidst their festival daies, clapped hands
& rejoiced, without care of sides, at the publick calamities. But the greatest difficul-
tie of all was in taking the Praetorian campe, unto the w** the valiantest amongst the
Vitellian soldiers had betaken them selves, as to their last refuge, & therefore the Flavi-
nians were the more earnest to affault it, especially the old Praetoria cohorts, em-
ploying all means devised for the taking of most fortified towns, as the target-fence
engines of battery, mounts, and firebrands, crying aloud that that one work was the
accomplishment and perfection of all the travels & dangers, which they in so many
battels had passed; that the city belonged to the Senate and the people, & the tem-
ples to the gods, and both were restor'd to their owners: but the soldiers honour
was in the campe, that was his country, and his dwelling place, which unleffe they
could straightwayes recover, they must and would lie all night in their armour. On
the other side the Vitellian soldiers, although inferior both in number and fortune,
disturbed the course of the victory, hindring the peace, polluting the houses and al-
tars with bloud, and embracing the last comfort to conquered persons. Many lay
gaping and died upon the towers and battlements of the walls. When the gates
were broken up, they that remained alive presented themselves to the conquerors,
and died all with their faces toward the enemy, and wounded upon their foreparts:
such care they had, seeing they must die, to die in most honorable manner. Vitellius
when as the city was taken, conveyed himselfe in a carrying * chaire, by the back-
gate of the Palace, into his wives house in the mount Aventine, intending if hee
could have lyen secret that day, to have fled by night to Tarracina to his brother
and the cohorts there. Anon 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 vait and defolate, even his bailef servants being either fled away, or elle
purposely shunning his presence. This great solitarineesse, and silence in those places
astonished him: whereupon he assayed to open that which was shut, and was ama-
zed finding all void. After much pitifull wandering about, being weary he cast
himselfe into a base corner: whence Julius Placidus Tribune of a cohort pulled
him out, and led him along thorow the city with his hands bound behind him, and
his garments all torn, a most ignominious spectacle, many reviling him, and no
man pitying his case; the dishonourableness of his end had taken away all com-
passion. Being led in this maner, one of the Germane soldiers aimed a blow, wheth-
er intending to strike at Vitellius upon some quarrell, or because he would sooner
rid him from shame, or else at the Tribune, it is uncertain, certaine it is that in strik-
ing he cut off the Tribunes ear, and was forthwith slain himselfe. Then forcing
Vitellius with the points of their swords sometimes to looke up and abide all indig-
nities, sometimes to see his owne images breaking their necks, and many times to
behold the Rostra, and the place where Galba was slaine, they baled him along,
and at the last thrust him into the Gemoniae, where the body of Flavius Sabitus
had

* Sellula.Suet.
\[\textit{Pºtel.c.16.ge translatoriaſe/a,}\]
\[\textit{In Cellulam janitoris,ſaith Suetanius,c.16. religiatoprofºri. buscane,ledo & cultieri, obječiis.}\]

\*[In Cellulam janitoriæ, faith Suetonius, c. 16. religioso profiri bus cam, tillesque & calamia obiuit.]
had lien. One word he was heard utter not proceeding from an abject minde, in answr to the Tribune who insulted over him: That he had yet sometime been his Prince: and so after many wounds received he fell down dead: and the common people as much without reason rayled upon him when he was dead as they flattered him being alive. He was sonne to Lucius Vitellius: about seven and fifty yeares old when he died: the Consulship and sacerdotal dignities, with a name and place among the chiefest of Nobility, he attained unto, not through any sufficiency of his owne, but by his fathers great fame and renowne: the Empire was conferred upon him by those which knew him not; and yet never man found so constant good will of his souldiers by vertuous means as this man with all his cowardly sloth: notwithstanding there was in him plaine meaning and liberality, which without discreet handling turn often to a mans ruine: faithful friends he deserved rather then found, because he fought them more by great gifts, then vertuous behaviour. It was a singular benefit to the Common wealth, it cannot be denied, that Vitellius was put downe; but they which betrayed him to Vespasian have small reason to reckon 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 upon feare had withdrew themselves out of the City, or else lay hidden in their Clients houses. Domitian when all fear of hostility was past, presented him selfe to the Flavian Captaines, whom the souldiers straight waises saluted Caesar, and armed accompanied him to his fathers house.

Seven and fifty yeares old Vitellius was born, saith Suetonius, Drusus Caesar & Norbas Flaccus Coff. which was in the 768. yeare, the 24. of September, or as some say, the seventh of the same moneth. The day in which he went out of the Palace with intention to resigne the Empire, was according to Tacitus, the 18. of December. The day following being the 19. of December the Capitol was burned, the 20. of December, Jo bore Antonius entred into the town, and the death of Vitellius ensued. All which doth appear plainly by the course of the story of Tacitus. So that from his birth to his death we have no more by just account but fifty four yeares, and as much as is betweene the seventh or fourte and twentieth of September, and the twentieth of December.
THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE HISTORIE OF CORNELIUS TACITUS.

I. The behaviour of the Flavian soldiery in the City, after the death of Vitellius.

Vitellius thus being slain, the war was rather ended then peace begun. For the conquerors with unplaceable hatred, pursued the contrary side throughout the City in arms: the streets were strewn with dead carcases, the Temples and common places embowed with blood; every one lying slain, where it was his chance to be overtaken, without distinction of place: and anon licentiousness growing, they began to search houses, and fetch forth such as were hid: if they saw any man look like a soldier, personable of stature and of yeares not disagreeing were he soldier or Citizen they murdered him: satiating themselves at the first, while their malice was fresh, with nothing save blood. But anon the heat of their choler aff wiging, they converted their cruelty into covetousness; suffering no Closet to escape unryed, no hidden place any where to be secret, pretending the Vitellianiis lay hidden therein; that was the colour to break up mens houses, or if resistance were made, an occasion to slay them. Besides the soldiers, the rascals and beggerly scum of the people, now with the formost, helped to sack and to spoile: and some of the lewdest bond-men voluntarily described their wealthy masters: some were detected by their own friends: every where lamentations and outcries were to be heard, and the miserable state to be seene, and face, as it were, of a City taken by the enemy: insomuch that the insolent and riotous soldier of Otho & Vitellius, so much detested before was now in comparison much wished for again. The commanders of the side were indeed sufficiently able to kindle a civil war, and unable to moderate the victory. For to stirre up diffensions and troubles, the worst man most commonly bears greatest stroke; but peace and quietness are not established, but by men of rare gifts, and excellent vertues. Domitian had already possesed him selfe both of the title, and lodging of Cæsar: not bending his studies as yet to matters of state, but in adulteries and dissolute demeanour behaving himselfe as an Emperours son. Arrius Varus was captain of the Guard: but the whole power, in effect, and direction of affaires, rested in the hands of Antonius Primus; who at his pleasure took money, and servants 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 unrenowned, so at this time they went unrewarded.

II. Lucius Vitellius yieldeth himselfe, and his soldiery to the Flavianists.

The city fearing new troubles, and ready to submit themselves to the present possessor, required that Lucius Vitellius, as he with his Cohorts returned from Tarracina, might be surpris’d, and so all remants of civil wars utterly extinguished.
extinguiſhed. Whereupon the horſemen were ſent before to Aricia, the Legions go-
ing not beyond Bovilla: but Virelliſius incontinently, without further delay, yeelded himſelf and his cohorts to the diſcretion of the conqueror: hisſouldiers likewise threw away their unfortunate weapons upon indignation rather then feare. Then they were marſhalled in length and led thorrow the city, as it were, in triumph garded with armed men. Not one of them ſhewed any signe of ſubmiffeneſſe in counte-
"...", but all sad and ſerne, not moved with the ſhoutings, and taunts of the mul-
titude infulting over them: only some few, through impatience breaking out, were beaten down by their guard, the reſt committed to priſon. Not one of them let fall any unſeemly word, but even in the midst of adverſity they retained their honor and fame. Then Lucius Vitellius was put to death: a man in vices equall to his brother, howbeit in his brothers reigne the more vigilant man: and not fo much partaker with him in prosperity, as violently carried away with the current of his adverſitie.

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

A bout the ſame time Lucilius Baſſus, with certain light horſe-men, was ſent to quiet the country of Campania, where the free cities were at diſcord ra-
ther each againſt other upon private quarelles, then any againſt the Prince up-
on rebellious intent: but at the firſt ſight of theſouldiers they were ſtraightwayes appealed. And the leſser colonies escaped unpunished, only Capua was appointed to lodge the third Legion that Winter, and some noble families by reaſon there-
of were afflicted: whereas on the contrary ſide, the Tarracinenſes, who for Vepfa-
ians fake had endured fo much, were no wayes relieved. So much are we proner to require injuries then good tunes: for thankfulness is a burden, revenge ſweet and reckoned as a gain. Notwithstanding it was ſome comfort unto them, that the ſervant of Verginius Capito, who betrayed the Town, as before we ſhewed, was hanged with the fame rings on his ſingers, which he had received from Vitel-
lius, as a reward of his treafon.

III. Matters concluded upon in the Senate, after the death of Vitellius.

Now at Rome, whatſoever honours and preeminences were ūſually united to the Emperours perſon, the Senate besſowed upon Vefpaſian, joyfully, and con-
ceiving affured hope of future tranquillity. For seeing the contagion of civil diffenſion beginning in France and Spaine, had passed to the German fouldi-
ers, then taken a courſe to Illyricum, and laſtly infected Egypt, Judea, and Syria in ſumme, all provinces and armies: they were to presume reaſonably, the whole world being thus purged and cleanſed, that the humour was spent, and civil wares and calamities were at an end. Which hope and gladneſſe of theirs was increaſed by certaine letters received from Vepfaſian, endited as if the warre had yet been on foot, for fo they ſhewed at the firſt ſight: notwithstanding he ſpake in all points as their Prince; modestly indeed of his own perſon, and of the weale-publick magni-
ifically, howbeit the Senate was not ſlack in declaring their obedience. To him-
ſelfe with Titus his fonne was awarded the Conſulſhip, to Domitian the Praetorſhip and Conſularie authority. Moreover Mutianus had written letters to the Senate, which thing minerſted matter of ſpeech: if he were a private man, why ſhould he write thus in publick to the Senate? he might have ſpared his pen, and within few dayes
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dayes after have uttered the same there in person, as one of the house: likewise his
invevying against the Vitellianists was misliked, as coming too late, and carrying no
shew of liberty now: but especially that seemed arrogantly spoken against the com-
mon weal, and contumelious against the Prince, where he vaunted, that the Empire
was in his disposition, and by him was collatred upon Vespasian. Nevertheless these cov-
ring their disdain in secret, they flattered openly, and in most ample and honourable
terms awarded him triumphal ornaments; indeed in respect of his service in the
civill war, but an expedition against the Samaritan was pretended: then to An-
tius Primus were decreed Consularie ornaments, and Praetorian to Cornelius Ful-
cus, and Arrius Varus. After these things, devoutly remembering the gods, they
enacted that the Capitol should be builded anew: all which points were specified
first and comprized in Valerius Asiaticus the three designed Consuls oration: to whom
the rest assented, the greater part with countenance and wagging of hands, some
few either chief in place, or chiefly exercised in the art of flattery, with set orations
and speeches. But when the course came to Helvidius Priscus, who was desinged
Pretor, he uttered his opinion in terms honourable enough to a good Prince,
yet without all flattery or glozing a thing much commended and allowed of great-
ly by the Senate: and this was the day which especially procured unto him, both
great offence and great glory. The matter seemeth to require, seeing we are once
again fallen to mention him, whom many times hereafter we shall have cause to
remember, that we should at this time briefly record what life he had led, what stu-
dies he had followed, and what fortune he had proved. Helvidius Priscus was
borne in the first region of Italy, in the free city of Tarracina: his fathers name
was Cluvius a principal Centurion. Being very young he applied his rare and ex-
cellent wit to those profound studies, not, as the most part to cloke sloth, and idle
nefs with so glorious a name, but that he might proceed to manage publick affairs
being first by that means better armed against all mishance of fortune. In the
study of philosophee he followed the learning of those masters, which define
that onely to be good which is honest, that onely ill which is dishonest: other qua-
rities not inherent in the mind, as powerableness, nobility, and such like, neither
good nor evil. When he had onely beene Quaetor, Petus Thrasea made choice
of him for his sonne in law. Of his father in lawes conditions he borrowed no
thing so much as liberty: in quality of citizen, Senators husband, sonne in law,
friend: in all parts and offices of life he was always one, and the same man, a com-
tenor of wealth, flute in a good cause, not removeable for any feare: to some men
he seemed too desirous of glory: and indeed that passion, amongst all other, even of
wife men is laft layed away. At the fall of his father in law he was driven into ba-
nishment, and returning under Galba he called Eprius Marcellus, who had inform-
ed against Thrasea, to his answer. This attempt, of so great and so just a revenge,
notwithstanding divided the Senate into parts: for if Marcellus were overthrown,
then whole troupes of others, which were in the same cafe, must needs goe to
wreck. At the first the contention was hot and fierce, and maintaine of both
sides with notable orations: but when Prificus perceived that Galba was doubt-
full in the point, at the intreaty of many Senators, he desisted from following
the suite; divers men, according to their severall dispositions, diversly inter-
preting his fact, some commending his moderation, others misliking his uncon-
stanty. But that same assembly when the Senate confirmed the Empire to Ve-
psian, with all an embassage was agreed upon, to be sent to the Prince. Hereupon
 arose taunting and bitter words betweene Helvidius and Marcellus. Helvidius opini
tion 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 chosne by lot, to which purpose also the designd Conful had spoked before: but the principal caufe, which pricked Marcellus to forward that way, was the shame which might redound to himself, fearing, left other being chosne, he should seem to be as unworthy rejected. And fo, after some few brawling words interchangeably used, by little and little they fell to continually, and bitter orations: Helvidius demanding, what caused Marcellus so much to fear the judgement of the magistrates, seeing he excelled many other, both in eloquence, and wealth, things which might easily move them to that choice: unlefe peradventure the remembrance of his own manifold misdeeds drave him to diſtruſt them: that the lot made no difference between the good and the bad, but suffrages and the judgement of the Senat were devised to enter into every mans fame, and behaviour that it greatly appertained both to the commodity of the common wealth, and to Vespasians honor, that those of the Senat should be sent to meet him, which were best accounted of for innocency, and integrity of life, who might feafon (as it were) the Emperours eares, with good and vertuous speeches: that Thrasea, Soranus, and Sentius had been of Vespasians old friends, and acquaindance, whose accufer, if they must not be punished, much leffe fea and fhowed in places of credit, and that by this choice of the Senat, the Prince should, as it were be admonished whom to like and whom to eschewe. For no greater instruments, or helps of good regimem can there be., then good friends: that Marcellus had done for his part sufficiently, having induced Nero to the destructions of so many innocents: let him enjoy his rewards and impunity, and leave Vespaſian to better directors. Marcellus replied, that not his opinion, but the opinion of the designd Conful was impugned, and the ancient precedents, which committed the choice of Embassadors to lot, to take away all occafion of fuiting and debate: that there was no new caufe, that he knew, why ſo old a cuſtome should now be aboliſhed, or why this honour done to the Prince should be turned into a diſhonour to any, considering that every man was sufficiently able to carry that message, and do allow reverence to him in the name of the Senate: nay rather they were to beware, left through the perversenefe of some the Princes mind might be offended, being now at his entry full of jealouſies, and marking not only words, but also all gestures and countenances. That, for his part, he well knew the quality of the times wherein he was borne, and what form of government our fathers, and grandfathers had established: beyond he honored and admired, but profefled to follow the present estate. That he praièd and withed indeed for good Princes: but if it were otherwise, would tolerate such as they were. As for the overthrow of Thrasea, why should he give account of accusing, when as the Senate gave none of condemning? not his orations, but their voices wrought his undoing; but fo was Neroes manner, with such fliewes to colour his cruel proceedings, whose favour and friendship anguifhed his mind peradventure as much, as baniſhment did some other mens. Finally, that we might Helvidius in contancy, and courage be equal to Cato and Brutus: for his own part, he was one of that Senate, which were but servants, as well as himſelfe, and would likeſivceſſ Helvidius, not to ſeek to clime above the Prince himſelfe, nor like a tutor to bridile with his precepts Vespaſian * having attained to thofe yeers, and that honor, and having beside fo goodly an issue. For as wicked Princes love to rule, and reign without limitation: for even the beſt would have the ſubjects to use a meane in their liberty. These things argued thus to and fro with great heat, diſtracted the Senate into diverse opinions.
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notwithstanding that part prevailed, which allowed of lot; not only the worst, but the middle sort retained their ancient custom, yea and the greatest inclined to that way, for fear of displeasure, and envy, 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 publick expenses. This proposition, both for the greatness of the charge, and difficulty of the remedy, the Consul designed thought good to referre to the Prince: but Helvidius would have it decided in Senate. And as the Consul proceeded in asking of voices, Vulcatus Tertullius Tribune of the people interceded, forbidding that anything of so great moment should be determined of, the Prince being absent; Helvidius also, declaring his mind 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 Vespasian should help; Which speech of his the moderate fort passed over then with silence, and afterward forgot, bowbeit some there were that remembered it well. Then Mufonius Rufus commenced an action against Publius Celer, by whose false witneffe, 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 vileneffe of the party now in perill was such, that he could no ways be protected. For Soranus was of honourable memory, and Celer, that philosopher by profession, became a false witneffe against his friend, was justly hated of all men, betraying, and violating that sacred bond of friendship, whereof he would seem a principall teacher: The next seffion was appointed for the hearing of the cause: but the whole company seeing that matter revived, and in ensmindes the next...

Was pretended] Triumphi, and triumphalia ornaments, which succeeded in their place, were awarded upon great service done, and upon some notable conquest obtained against a forrein enemy: at least never any man in the Roman larte made profession of triumphing de civiliis virtutis. L. Sylla, Gaio Velleio, lib. 3. qui plures bella civitlia confessit, et coniuravit ut consilium potens fuerit triumphum ducere, ut Graeci & Asii manent urbibus, ut civium Romanorum nullum apud illum verso. 8. Cæsar after he had ended the civil wars, albeit he spared in view to triumph de viis civitibus, and chose rather the name of king Juba for the title of his Asiatice triumph, then of Seicio, Cato or Afranius, who were Generals of the field, yet went he further then Sylla, carrying their images and pictures in triumph, grieving thereby the people of Rome. Augustus, having overcome at Actium Antonius and Cleopatra, enticed likewise his triumph upon the woman, omitting the men, Augusti, true it is, that oftentimes finding small cause of triumph, over an externall enemy, and not daring to name the citizens, divers colours, as here, have been used.

Of audience for such matters. For it was neither the next day nor the next seffion of the Senate.
V. The entry of Mutianus into the city, and his actions there.

Things being in this state, the Senators jarring one with another, the conquered part being full of malice, the conquerors wanting authority, no laws regarded, no Prince present to govern the state, Mutianus made his entry into the city, and with a maine course drew the whole manage of affaires into his own hands. Antonius Primus, and Varus were soone out of credit, when it was perceived, that Mutianus loved them not, although in countenance he pretended otherwise: but the citizens having a quick eye to see into secret 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 using all means to retain his sovereignty, being continually guarded with souldiers, and for his pleasure changing of houes and gardens, in his provision, his gate, his traine, and warders, keeping the state of a Prince, although he forbore the title and name. And first he commanded Calphurnius Galerianus to be slaine, which stroke an exceeding great terrorre into mens hearts. He was soone to Caius Pifo, and had not entred into any attempt, but being of a noble houfe, and a comely young man, he was greatly talked of by the common people: and as in a city unfeted, and among a people gladly imbracing new tales, some there were, which vainly named him to the Princes place. Wherefore, at the commandement of Mutianus, he was committed to a guard of souldiers: and left his death in the face of the city should have been more offensive, forty miles off, in the Appian way he was put to death, by letting the blood out of his veins. Julius Priscus, who had been Captaine of the guard under Vitellius, killed himselfe rather for shame, then upon necessity. His fellow Alphenus Varus overlived his honour, and saw himselfe counted a coward, and a person infamed. Asiaticus, for his lewd credit under his master, made satisfaction now as a freed-man with a servile death.

VI. The rebellion of the Batavians and Caninefates through the instigation of Iulius Civilis.

In the same time the newes of the overthrow in Germany was rise in the city, and the city nothing troubled thereat (Every man talked how the armies were slaine, the standing campes of the Legions taken by the enemy, how France had revolted) as if it had been newes of a strange countrey, not a calamity that touched themselves. That warre, upon what causes it arose, and with how great banding it was maintained, both of our allies, and of forrein nations, I will now declare from the beginning. The Batavians, whilst they dwelt beyond the
Rhene, were a part and member of the Catti; and being thrown out by civill sedition, they feated themselves in the uttermost limits of France, which then lay void of inhabitants, and took in with the first that is sittate in the flatts, and hath the Ocean before, behind, 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 overmatches, spoiled of their riches and wealth, but only bound to minister men and armour to the behoofe of the Empire, and so for a long time they were employed in the German wars. Afterward they became more famous by reason of certaine cohorts of them sent over into Britain by the Romans, under the leading of certaine noblemen of their own nation, according to their ancient order: and beside, there remained behind in the countrey a company of chosen horfemen prattised especially in swimming, so that they would in whole troupes passe over the Rhene in harnesse, and governing their horse in their hands.

The principall men among them, and farre exceeding all other, by reason of their royaledge, were Julius Paulus, and Claudius Civilis, whereof Paulus was lately put to death by Fonteius Capito under colour of a falsely surmised rebellion: Civilis was sent in chains unto Nero, and acquitted by Galba, and againe under Vitellius escaped narrowly, the army instantly demanding his death. Upon these causes his anger was founded, and upon our troubles his hope. But being of a crafty and subtle wit, above the ordinary of those barbarous people, and carrying himself rather like a Sergius, or an Hannibal (as indeed in the maine of his face he was not unlike) fearing lest if he should make open defection, our armies would advance themselves against him as an enemy, he covered his dealing with love to Vespassian, and favour to the side. And in truth Antonius Primus had sent certaine letters unto him, wherein he willed him to divert away the aides sent for by Vitellius, and under shew of trouble in Germany to stay the Legions there. The same advice also Hordeonius Flaccus had given him by word of mouth, partly upon good will to Vespassian, and partly upon a care of the state, which seemed to be in evident peril of utter destruction, if a new warre should begin, and so many thousands of armed men paffe into Italy. Thus Civilis being resolved to break, and yet concealing his purpose, as meaning to govern himselfe in the action by the event, began after this manner to work innovation. At the commandment of Vitellius, the able men of the Batavians were summoned to be pressed to the warre: which being of it selfe a burdenome thing, was made much more ininfupportable, by the avarice and lewd disposition of the officers, who billed chiefly such as were old or impotent persons, and then for money released them: again such as were under age, and faire (as many of their youths are of a comly tall stature) them they carried away to abuse their bodies. At these dealings the country being highly offended, certain particular heads were suborned, to perfwade them to refuse to be pressed. Whereupon Civilis affembling into a facred wood under pretence of a banquet the nobility of the nation, and the chiefe of the communion, when he saw them, at far in the night, merry, and warmed with wine, he beginneth a solemn oration, recounting first the praises, and glorious acts of the nation, and then discourseth unto them of the injuries, infolences, and other miseries whereunto they are subjecct, that are subject unto a strange nation: for that now they were not with the Romans in state of friends and allies, as in former times, but flat servants and slaves, and that not under 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 petty Captaines, and Centurions, whom when they had filled with
of Cornelius Tacitus.

with spoiles and bloud, then were they removed, and straightwayes feth hungry
matters set over them, and new devives of polling invented. That now the day of the
mutter approched, when children should be drawn from their parents, brethren
from brethren, never to see one another again: and that, which might the rather
courage them, the Romans were never in to poore a cafe, having nothing in their
standing camps, but a rich spoile, and old men to guard it: wherefore they should
onlye lift up their eyes, and not be afraid: at the naked and bare names of Legions:
that they had strenght of their own, both of footmen and of horfe, the Germans
were allied unto them in bloud, the French likewise affected: that even the Romans
themselves would not greatly mishlike of this warre, the losses thereof, if any were,
they might impute to Vespasian, and if they went through and conquerd, they
should not be called to their account. Having ended his speech with great appro-
bation of the audience, he bound them with barbarous ceremonies and adjurations
used by them in like cases, in a firme afcociation together. Straightwayes me-
ffengers were dispatchd to the Caninefates, to inducethem also into the league.
The Caninefates inhabit a part of the Iland, of the fame language and race, in va-
lour equall to the Batavians, but inferior in number. Then Civillis sent secret me-
fages to sollicite the Batavian cohorts, which had served as aides in Britannie,
sent into Germany, as before we have flewed, and at that time remaining at Ma-
gontiacum. Among the Caninefates there was one Brinio, a wilde and foolohearty
brane, howbeit of a high and noble stock, whose father, having fundry times in-
deed our borders, and done many acts of hoftility, boldly contemned those mock-
expeditions of Caius the Emperour: wherefore being descended of so rebellious a
kinred in that respect they liked him best of all others. And thereupon setting him,
after their countrey manner, on a target, and bearing him round about on their
shoulders, they elected him General: and he forthwith associating unto him the
Frifians, a nation beyond the Rhene, invaded the standing campe of twocohorts
adjoyning to the Ocean. The Roman fouldiers, neither forefaw this sudden inva-
fion of the enemy, neither, if they had, were of sufficient force to repellit: so the
campe was taken and spoild, and the victualers and merchants, wandering securely
abroad as in peace, cut off. Then they drew forth, to make their approches to the
caftles, and holds, which by the captains of the cohorts were set on fire, because
they were not defenfile: the eniognes, and bands, and such fouldiers as were left,
gathered themselves, under the leading of Aquilius a chiefe Centurion, into the
higher part of the Iland, compizing an army, rather in name then in power: for
Vitellius at his departing drew away the chiefe strenght of the cohorts, and for sup-
ply took out of the nearest villages, of the Nervians and Germans, a raw com-
pany, whom he had loaded with armour. Civillis, supposing it surest to work by fraud
and deceit, blamed the captains, for that they had forlaken their caftles; affuring
that he alone, with the cohort under his charge, would easily represse the tumult of
the Caninefates: and therefore willed them to returne every man to his own place.
It was perceived, that his counsell proceeded not of good meaning, but tended
only to this end, that the cohort being severed might be overthrown with great-
er facility: and by many apparent arguments, and speeches of the Germans them-
selves, a nation joyfull of warre, and not concealing long their owne joy, it was dis-
covered daily more and more, that Civillis, not Brinio, was the head and contriver
of this conspiracy. Wherefore, seeing his secret plots took none effect, he fell to
plaine force, and cast his power consisting of Caninefates, Frifians, and Batavians
into three pointed battels, each nation by themselves. The Romans opposed their
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forces against him, not far from the river of Rhene, directing also their shipps, which after the burning of the castles, they brought to that place, against the enemy. After a little skirmishing, a cohort of the Tungrians fled to Civilis: whereupon our soldiers, discomfited with the sudden treason, were on all sides beaten down, both by their false fellows, and enemies: the like perfidiousness was also on the water. A great part of the rowers (being Batavians born) faining unskillfull in handling their oare, hindered both the mariners, and soldiers in doing their duty: anon without dissimulation they wrought directly against them, and forced the ships to the enemies side, killing the Masters and Centurions, that would not condescend to their treason. And so the whole fleete, of foure and twenty barkes, either fled to the enemy, or was taken by force. This victory both presently wans great reputation, and afterward stood in great stead: for they got both armour and ships, which before they wanted, and throughout France and Germany, they were highly renowned as the authors of liberty. The Germans by and by sent Embassadours offering them aid: and Civilis, by policy and gifts, endeavoured to win the hearts of the French, sending the Captaines, whom he had taken, gently home, and giving the cohorts free choice, either to abide with him, or at their pleasure to return to their country: if they would tarry, he offered them honorable reward for their service; if otherwise, at their departure he bestowed upon them the spoiles of the Romans, withall admonished them in secret of their calamities sustained to many years, and of their miserable thraldome fallly intituled a peace; shewing them how the Batavians, though not charged with tributes, as they, had notwithstanding taken arms against them, which tyrannized over them both. That the Romans, at their first encounter, were put to the flight by them, and discomfited: what were then to be hoped, if all France should joyn unto them? Italy was disarmed, and could of it selfe, neither conquer nor keep; but with the provinces bloud were the provinces won. That they should not be discouraged with the remembrance of Vindex misfortune: for the Batavian horse were the men, which defeated him and his Army; and amongst the Aides of Verginius there were beside some French out of Belgica, and in true account France was ruined by her own forces. But now if it pleaseth them to joyn with him in this action, they both should make but one party: beside that they had seen and learned the best of the Romans militarie discipline: moreover those old experienced Batavian cohorts, before whom Otho's Legion could not stand, no doubt would go with him. Let Syria, and Asia, and the East, used to serve kings, be slaves if they lift; in France many men were yet alive born before tributes began, neither could it be denied, that Germany of late, by the overthrow and death of Quintilius Varus, had given a check to the Romish usurpers, banished servitude, and provoked to the field, not a Vitellus, but a Caesar Augustus. That liberty was granted by nature to dumber beasts also, but vertue and valour were peculiar ornaments of mankind, and to the valiant alone the gods gave their assistance. Wherefore, since they were at good leasure, and freth, he willed them to set courageously upon their bully occupied and tried enemies: whiles some leaned to Vespavian, some clave to Vitellius, undoubtedly harm might be wrought against both. Thus Civilis, laying the plot for France and Germany, apired, if his purpose took effect, to the monarchy of those most mighty, and most wealthy countreyes.

1 And Tributes began about sixscore years before, so that many in France be like were long lived.

1 At the naked and bare names of Legions) At this time were six unperfect Legions, or rather names of Legions, as he termeth them here in high Germanie, at Magnantium, two, quarta Macedonica & Octaviana altera diuorsaece;ma, beside eight Batavian cohorts. In lower Germany, at Bonna, prima legio: beneath it at Novi-

£ium
of Cornelius Tacitus.

Ut Hordeonius Flaccus, who at the first by connivence nourished Civilis, attempts, now receiving fearfull advertisements, that the 

Quarta Macedonica.

Questa decima et sequioriae: Didius Vocula legatus.

Prima: Herennius Gallus Legatus.

Secunda: Flavia, et consecrata.

Sexta Ferrata, e Syriaca.

Decima Gemina, e Hispania.

VII. Hordeonius Flaccus, Lieutenant General of both Germanies, lying at Magna-

superioris Germaniae

secundae Macedonice.

inferioris Germaniae

prima Herennius Gallus Legatus.

sexta Victrix, e Syria.

Ottava Augusta, e Mefius.

Pas & terrae Rapax, e Patellarnis.

Secunda Flavia, e veneris consecrata.

Quarta decima Gemina, e Britannia.

Sexta Ferrata, e Syriaca.

Decima Gemina, e Hispania.

ut Hordeonius Flaccus, LIEUTENANT GENERAL of both Germanies, lying at Mag- 

siasmum, commanded Mummium Lupercus, who with two Legions the fifteenth legued as Vetera, to go forth against Civilis and the 

Batavians: but the Romans left the battle 

standing camp.

but Hordeonius Flaccus, Lieutenant General of both Germanies, lying at Magno- 
siasmum, commanded Mummium Lupercus, who with two Legions the fifteenth legued as Vetera, to go forth against Civilis and the 

Batavians: but the Romans left the battle 

standing camp.
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ling of their women, farre exceeded and drowned the feeble shott of our Legions and cohorts, and the Batavian wing fleeing to the enemy, and straightway turning upon us, bare the left flank of our battle: notwithstanding the Legionary soldiers, as in a case of such danger, yet retained their weapons in their hands, and themselves in array. The Aides of the Ubians and Treveri ran most shamefully away, and brake every where, which chaze the Germans purfued and gave by that means ley sure to our Legions to retire themselves into their camp called Vetera. Claudius Labeo captain of the Batavian wing, who had followed at home a contrary faction to Civilis, left that either his death should offend the country, or his presence minister of confusion, was quietly sent out of the way into Frisia.

1 Mummius Lupercus] Belike Vitellius left the Legions only bare of men, and as it were halfe Legions (for in these two Legions were not above five thousand men) but dismiffed of captains also, leaing here but one Lieu tenant over two Legions, and yet as though he had forgotten himself, we finde another, namen ex machina, to wit Numius Rufus. Of whose coming 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 doth Tacitus tell us here, that Lupercus alone durum legionum hibernum preservat? nor, how and when came he? and specially how and when went he out? But in the settin down of this German war there are, in my opinion, many little imperfections and negligence, whereof part we will touch, as occasion ill serve, but most of them we have supplied and explained in the contents of the chapters, and by insertting sometimes a word or two in the text, as by comparing the books it will appear.

VIII. The eight Batavian cohorts, which had served the Romans so long in Britannia, against Othe, and elsewhere, solicised by Civilis for sake Magontiacum, make their way at Bonna.

by the sword, and so join last to Civilis.

I

N the meanes season the messengers sent by Civilis to Magontiacum, to sollicit the cohorts of the Batavians and Caninefates, came thither, and found them in readiness, by Vitellius commandment, to march toward Rome. Upon that message received, forthwith they waxed proud, and intolerable, crying out (or else refusing to march) for their donative, for double wages, for an augmentation of the number of their horsemen, things indeed promised by Vitellius, but demanded by them, not in hope to obtaine, but to pick an occasion of mutiny: and Flaccus, yealding to divers of their demands, gained nothing, but that they more insatiably craved those things which they knew he could not but deny. So setting Flaccus at naught, they took up their ensignes, and marched toward low Germany, to joyn themselves with Civilis; Hordeonius calling the Tribunes and Centurions unto counsel, debated the matter, whether he should by maine strength seek to inforce them which so contemptuously brake away: anon, partly of his own cowardly nature, partly through the timorousnesse of the officers, who trusted neither the faith of their Aides, nor the force of their Legions, being gathered in halfe of munus-skilfull in service, he resolved to keep his soldiery with in the trenches, and let the Batavians passe. Afterward, repenting himself of that resolution, they also obliterating it, which were chiefst authors thereof, if he meant to pursuethem, he wrote to Herennius Gallus governor of Boletia, and Lieutenant of the first Legions, which wintered there, that he should stop the Batavians from passage, promising that he with his whole power, would not fail to be on their backes. And to verify the matter, they might have been defeated and slain, if Hordeonius on the one side, and Gálus on the other, had brought toward their power, and enclosed them in bothe sides and be
of Cornelius Tacitus.

149

dore: but Flaccus changed his purpose again, and in other letters of later date will-
led Gallus, not to stay their passage. Whereupon suspicion arose, that the Lieu-
tenants of that purpose stirred up and fostered these warres; yet all the mischiefes,
which either had chanced already, or were feared hereafter, were imputed, not to
the cowardliness of the soldier, or strength of the enemy, but only to the fraud
and falseness of the Leaders. When the Batavians drew near to the Campe at
Bonna, they sent before certaine messengers, to delare to Herennius Gallus the
intention of the Cohorts: that their meaning was not to make warre with the Ro-
mans, in whose behalf they had so oft born arms; but forasmuch as they were
weared with a long and fruitlefe service, their desire was, quietly to live at home
in their countrey. And therefore if no man made opposition, their passage should
be harmless; but if any hostility were offered, they would make their way with the
sword. Whilste the Lieutenant stood divided in minde what to do, his soldiery ur-
ged him to put it to the fortune of a field. There were in his campe three thousand
Legionary soldiery, and certain tumultuary cohorts of Belgians, and withall a
number of pezants, and followers of the camp, brave men before the danger ap-
proach, in the danger but cowards. Out they issue at all the gates of the camp to
enclose the Batavians, whom they knew to be far inferiour in number. The Batavians
mindfull of their old order in service, set themtheselves in array in pointed battels
standing on every side close together, and having their front, their flanks, and their
back surely guarded, and so with great facility brake through our thin companies.
The Belgians first gave ground, and then our Legionaries were beaten back, and
ran for fear toward the trenches, and gates of the camp. There the most slaughter
was committed: the fosses we filled up with dead bodies, and many died in the
throng, by tumbling one over another, and running upon their own weapons, as well
as slain by the enemy. After this victory the Batavians went forward, leaving Co-
leyne of the right hand, and attempted no act of hostility in the rest of their jour-
ney, but excusing the battle at Bonna as a thing done by constraint, and for their
own safety, when as they intreated for peace and it would not be granted.

The cohorts of the Batavians and Caninefates: These are the octro cohortes Bataverum quartae decima legionis ca-
stitutio, so oft mentioned in the first and second of the history, and now remaining at Magontiacum, whither Civilis
sent secret messengers to solicit them to the party, as it appeareth in this book. And albeit in none of the places
before remembered there is any mention of Caninefates, yet by this place it is to be intimated, that those eight Co-
horts consisted of both people, onely the Batavians carried the name, as being the greater and more known people;
and to say truth Caninefates were but a kind of Batavians, dwelling in the Batavian island, using the same speech
and descended of the same race, as Tacitus saith a little before: and therefore, as I think, in his book De moribus
Germanorum, he nameth onely the Batavie, either because the other were intended also by that name, or because
they were not greatly worth naming.

IX. Civilis colourably sweareth his men to Vespasian: then with his Ba-
tavians, and the assistance of certaine German nations,
besiegeth Petera; giveth an assault, and is repulsed.

Civilis, upon the coming of those old Cohorts, had now under his con-
duct a full and complete armie: nevertheless wavering in minde, and stand-
ing irresolute, considering the puissance of the Roman Empire, he caused all
his men to sweare to Vespasian, and sent forthwith Embassadors to the two Legi-
ons, which being defeated by him in the former battel were fled to Vetera, requi-
ring them also to take the like oath. Their answer was, they would not be advised

neither by traitour nor enemy; that Vitellius was their Prince, to whom alone they owed their faith, and should stand for him in armes, to their last breath: wherefore let not a fugitive, and faithlesse Batavian carry himselfe as upmiere of the Roman affaires, but rather look for condigne punishment for his desert. Civilis being greatly incensed with this answfer, bringeth the whole Nation of the Batavians into the field. The Bructeri and Teucteri associats themselves, and messengers were sent into Germany, who railed the whole Country, some to win honour, and some to gaine spoile. Against these great threatnings and landings of so many enemies, Mummius Lupercus, and *Mumifius Rufus, Lieutenants of the Legions, fortified their trenched and walls, and razed the buildings, which in so long a peace were erected, not farre from the Campe, in manner of a town, left they should be a harbour for the enemy. But through oversight they omitted to convey the victual, and other provision therein into the Camp, sufferit it to be taken at discretion: and so in few dayes that was riotously consumed, which by good order would have relieved their needs a long time. Civilis led the middle battell himselfe, wherein was the flower and strength of Batavia: and on both sides of the Rhene, to the end the fight of his army might strike in the greater terror, he cauſed the regiments of the Germans to march, the horſemen gallopping about the fields; and withall the ships were brought up the streame. So on the one hand the enſignes of the old cohorts, on the other the pictures and images of the wild beasts taken out of their woods and consecrated groves, according as every Nation uſeth to beare in the field, amazed our men, and terrified them doubly, with the ſhow both of an externall, and civil 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 contain two Legions, at that present it had scarce five thousand armed men to defend it, besides the followers of the camp, which upon the breaking up of the peace gathered thither and there remained doing them some service in the war. A part of the camp was situate upon the pendent of an eafe hill, and part stood upon the plaue ground. That standing campe Augustus settled there, supposing it sufficient to watch over, and as it were to besiege the countreyes of Germany, never imagining that the world could go farre otherwiſe, as that they should presume to begin and affile our Legions: whereupon the leffe coſt was bestowed, either to helpe the ſite of the place, or the strength of the bulwarks: men and armours alone were thought a sufficient defence. Now to the end, that being severed in place, the proviſſe of each Nation might more distinctly appeare, and be seen, the Batavians, and the Germans which dwelt beyond the Rhene, took standing each by themselves and began to dart at our men a fire off: But when as they saw most of their weapons flicking in vaine in the turrets, and pinnacles of the walls, and many of themselves wounded with stones thrown from above on their heads, leaving that kinde of oppugnation, they suddenly with great forces and outcrie alloyed to scale the trenches, the most part by setting up ladders, others climbing over the heads of their fellows upon a target-fence. And as some were now clammering up, they were beaten down headlongs with swords and pufhe of pike, and so with clubs, and darts overwhelmed, being men otherwiſe hot in the beginning, and too too couragious when fortune favoured, but then for defire of prey they tolerated all hardnesse also; yea and that which with them is unusuall, they endeavoured to prove with engines, whereof they had of themselves neither experience nor skill, onely some fugitives and captives taught them to frame timber in manner of a bridge, and to drive it forward on wheeles, whereon certaine standing above might skirmishe with them on the walls,
walls, 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 when as provision was made of hurdles, and planks to cover them in giving the assault, our men shot burning speares, and fired the worke, affayling with fire even their affaylers; who despairing at length to effectuate any thing by force, deliberated to lay a lingering siege therunto, knowing that they had but few dayes victaile within, and many unprofitable mouthes to consume it, and hoping withall, that of want of food treason would ensue: that the faith of bondmen alwaies fickle would now be fleeting, beside the casualties, which usuallly happen in warre.

In manner of a bridge] Vegetius, lib. 4. in the description of Turris Ambulatoria maketh mention of Pons in hac urbe. Tunnīs sunt machinamenta ad omnem effectionem ædificis tabulatisque compaśīa, quæ tanta protervitate, ucoe folūm munō, fed eītiam tunris altitudine superant. Hīs pūris viæ mechanicae sunt fabrorum, quantum ipsa magnitudine tam ampla novō. Inferioribus habet arsiēm, cūjīs impegns haeret mūrō. Circīa mediam partem acceptī ponētās, uciām de dūibus trahō, quæm sūlōtum polos tunris unumque confessūnt, et per eūm regredientes dūnum mūlīs occupant mūras et in civitatem transiunt. In superioribus partibus omnisīs & suōtūs eīlicitur, quæ propagantur despellīt, &c. In this place Tacitus feemeth to take Pons for the whole engine of Turris Ambulatoria, and not onely that special part which Vegetus calleth by that name.

X. Hordeonius dispatching Vocula before removeth from Magontiacum with his power to Bonna: and thence to Coleyn. Where he resigneth the execution of his charge to Vocula; following notwithstanding the army from thence to Novesium, where, as it seemeth, he stayed till his death. At Novesium Gallus is joyned in commission with Voena:
Where being encamped, Vocula wasteth the Gugerni, and
Gallus is beaten by the Germans.

In the meane time Flaccus, having understanded of the siege of Vetera, and sent into France to levy ayes, 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 haften, and make all possible speed along the banke of the river, himselfe followed lowly, and drooping for feare, being mortally hated of his fouldiers. For they openly charged him, that he had suffered wilfully to scape from Magontiacum the cohorts of the Batavians, or rather purpofely sent them away: that Civilis rebellious attempts were by his connivence fostered, and by his meane the Germans called to the party. That neither Antonius Primus, nor Muriatus, had so strengthened Vespasiánis side, as Flaccus by this kinde of diffembling dealing: for open enemies and arms might openly and with arms be repelled, but fraud and deceit were matters hardly espied, and therefore could not be avoided. That Civilis stood in the field embattelled against them, but Hordeonius out of his bed chamber gave order, and directed as was most for the enemies behoife: and why then should so many armed companies of valiant fouldiers be governed by a sickle and filly old man? nay why should they not rather dispatch such a traitour, and free their fortune and vertue from the ill chance of so unlucky a leader? As they were in these speeches one with another, letters came from Vespaian which incensèd them more, the which Flaccus, because he could not conceal, caused openly to be read before the assembly, and sent the bringers thereof bound to O Vitellius.
The fourth Book of the History

Vitellius. By this means the soildiers minds were somewhat appeased: and so they came to Bonna the standing campe of the first Legion: the soildiers thereof were more displeased with Flaccus then the other: laying the fault of their late overthrow wholly upon him: averring that they at his commandement marched forth against the Bataviens, affluring themselves uppon his promise, that his Legions from Magontiacum should assaile them behinde: and so no supply coming from thence they loft their lives through his treason: that these matters had never been notified to the rest of the army, nor to the Prince, or else by the helpe and affittance of so many countreys this sudden rebellion might have been quenched in the beginning. Whereupon Hordeonius causd the copies of all the letters, which he had sent into France, Brittany and Spaine, requesting their helpe, to be read to the army, and began a very ill example, that all letters sent from abroad should be delivered to the standard-bearers of the Legions, who read them to the soildiers, before they came to the Generals hand. Then he commanded one of the most fadiciouns to be apprehended and bound, rather to put his right in use, then because the fault was but of one man alone: and so he removed with his army from Bonna to Coleyn, where many Aides resorted unto him of the French nation, which at the first with all their power asisted the Romans, till afterwards seeing the Germans prevale, many of them tooke armes, against us in hope of freedome, and that point attained, for desire of soveraigntie. But the wrath of the Legions still increaseth, neither could one soildier imprisonement terrifie them: nay even the party imprisoned impeached the Generall of treason, alledgeing that he had been messenger betwixt Civilis and him, and therefore a colour was sought to take him away, lest he shoulde declare and testifie the truth. Then Vocula, with marvellous stoutnesse advancing into the Tribunall, commanded the soildier, as he exclaimed & cried, to be apprehended, and carried away to execution: which thing so terrified the bad and seditious, that the soildier sort without impeachment fulfilled his commandement: and anon by common consent they demanded Vocula to be their Generall: which place Flaccus willingly resigned to him. But their minds were already mutinously affected, and many new occasiones of more rage were presented; as want of pay, and provision of corne; France refusing to yeeld soildiers and tributes; the Rhene also by reason of drought un usuall in that country hardely able to bear any vessell: scarcitie of victuals; garrisons of men placed along the banke to keepe the Germans from passing the river; and so lese corne, and more men to consume it. And yet not ten lines before hewritteth, afficium auxilia Gallorum, quae priont rem Romanam causa frustram. Among the ignorant and simpler sort the lowness of the water was held for a prodigious matter, as if the rivers also, and the ancient defences of the Empire had now forsaken us, and that which in peaceable times would have been counted chace, or proceeding of natural causes, at that time was called a fallall matter, and gods indignation and wrath. At Novesium they assumed the sixteenth Legion; and Herennius Gallus Lieutenant of the first Legion was joynd with Vocula in part of the charge: yet durst they not goe to finde the enemy, but encamped themselves at a place called Gelduba. There they trained, and practiced their soildiers in ordering of battels, in fortifying, entrenching, and other military exercises. And to the end that they might by booties and spoiles take courage and heart, Vocula led forth part of his army into the country of the Gugernia adjoyning, who had allied them selves with Civilis: part remaining behind with Herennius Gallus. And as by chance, not farre from the campe, a barge laden with corne, was run upon a shelle, 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 rescue; the Germans also increas 
of Cornelius Tacitus.

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 hailed the boat away. Our souldiers, being thus put to the worfe, according to their custome there, blamed not their own cowardliness, but the treason of the Lieutenant, whom they drew out of his tent, tare his clothes, and beat his body, commanding him to tell upon what price, and with what complies he had thus betray the army. But Hordeonius was charged with the whole envie of the fact, him they termed the contriver of the mischiefe, Gallus only the instrument, till at length Gallus, being terrified with their threatenings of his destruction, to save his own life, was content to charge Hordeonius also with treason. Then was he put in bands, and afterward, at the return of Vocula loosed, who the next day following put to death the authors of the firite. So strange diversitie there was in that army, both licentiously to commit all enormities, and patiently to abide all corrections. The common souldier was firme to Vitellius; the principall men more enclin'd to Vespasian. Hence came it, that successively, and by course as it were, they offend and suffered for their offences; that fury and rage were interlaced with obedience, and they easily punisht, which could not be governed.

1. In the meane time Flaccus Hordeonius Flaccus remaining at Mentz, where the standing camp was of Augustia, undertaketh of the siege of Vetera, first Didius Vocula Lieutenant of the standing camp before with the choicest men picked out of the two Legions, whom Hordeonius, leaving sufficient power to guard the camp at Mentz, seemeth immediately to have followed and overtaken at Bonna, a towne likewise upon the river, eleven miles above Colonia, and thence above Vetera, according to Antonius in Itinerario, and Tac. Hist. 1. Annal. and so jointlie to have removed to Coleyn: where at the influence of his mutinous army, and upon infirmity of body, he resigned his Generallship, at least the execution to Didius Vocula: and yet notwithstanding removed with them to Novesium, now called Nuifs, a towne sixtene miles below Coleyn, according to Antonius. At Novesium Flaccus as it seemeth had, and there was, as appeareth anon, shane by a mutiny of drunken souldiers. But Vocula with a great part of the army marched further downe, and reaching Vetera, encamping himselfe at Gelduba, a towne likewise upon the Rhene, uti eisera generis tripelae, faith Pliny. And thus much for the declaration of some circumstances, in my opinion not to plainly and particularly set down, as they ought, by our Author.

XI. Civilis combineth himself with the Germans, wastereth the French side, urgeith the siege of Vetera, and giveth diverse assaults in vain.

Contrarily all the Germans extolled Civilis exceedingly, and combined themselves with him in league, yeelding of their noblest men for pledges, Whereupon he gave commandment to them which lay nearest, to saute the Ubii and Treveri, and with another company to passe the river of Mola, and forrey the Menapii and Morini, and frontiers of France. In both places a spoile was made, and with greater rage amongst the Ubii, because being originally descendened from the Germans, renouncing their countrey, they called themselves Agrippinenes after a Romane denomination: whose cohorts through negligence and carelesness, as being farre from the banke of the Rhene, were slaine in the village of Marcodurum. In revenge whereof the Ubii fetched continual booties out of Germany, which they performed at the first without losse, afterward they were overtaken and slaine, in all that ware more faithfull to us, then fortunate for themselves. The Ubii being thus beaten, Civilis growing more hard to be dealt with, and haughty minded, by reason of the prosperus successe of his actions earnestly urged the siege of the Legions setting ftraite watch, left any secret messenger might happily enter in, to bring them word of the succour comming. The engins and making of the works he alligned to the Batavians, appointing the inhabitants be-
The fourth Book of the History yond the Rhene, who were desirous of battell, to goe and breake up the trenches, and being beaten backe, eftsoones to give a fresh assault, not caring to leese many of those, whereof he had so many to spare. Neither did the night bring an end to their travell: but heaping up wood round about and setting it on fire, they fell to feasting together, and as they were heated with wine, ran rauishly and desperately to the assault: which attempt of theirs was altogether without effect. For their darts, as being thrown into the dark, fell void without any doing of hurt. 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 Civilis perceiving commanded the fire to be put out, and to fight pell mell in the dark. Then there arose confused clamours, and noyes, variable chances, and uncertaine adventures: no foresight in striking or warding, on what side forever the cry arose, thish they would turne their bodies, and direct their arrowes: valour profited nothing, chance ruled all, and the most valiant men oftentimes were slain by the most cowards. The Germans ran with undified rage: but the Romanes fouldiers acquainted with dangers, hurled their clubs headed with iron, and heavy stones, not at a venture: where they heard any labouring to break in, or setting up 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 Batavians had builded and brought forward a tower of two heights, which as it approached neere to the Praetorian gate (for that part of the camp was of easest access) our fouldiers brake it in pieces with mightie plankes run against it, and logges cast upon it, with great damage and slaughter of them that stood thereupon. At which accident the enemies being dismayed, our fouldiers suddenly issu’d out, and cut off many of their men, with all the Legionary fouldiers, being expert and skilfull in that way, devised many warlike engines; but that which was the most dreadfull, was a moveable and wagging engine, in manner of a crane, which being suddenly let down snatchèd up one or more of the enemies, and hysed them aloft in the fight of the rest, and so the beam turning about let them fall into our campe. Civilis laying aside all hope of winning by force determined to change that course, and by tract 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 Captaine of Vitellius side, and borne at Triers, bringeth word to Novefium of the event of the battell at Cremona: whereupon they there and the refi at Geldaba swore to Vespasian: and sent Montanus to declare the same to Civilis, willing him to desist from hostilite: but contrary Civilians wrought Montanus to his purpose, and laid the plot of the rebellion of France, which shortly after ensu’d.

T His was the effect of that which pass’d in Germany before the battell of Cremona: the event whereof Antonius Primus signifi’d by letters directed unto them, sending withall Cacinaeis edict: and Alpinus Montanus Captaine of one of the vanquish’d cohorts, by word of mouth, confess’d the overthrow of the side. Hereupon ensu’d diversitié of affections. The auxiliary fouldiers of France, which serv’d without all partialitie, and neither hated nor loved the one faction nor the other, at the perfwations of their Captaines, were content forth-
with to forsake Vitellius: but the old soildier flucke at it, till upon Hordeonius tendering, and the Tribunes urging they tooke the oath; albeit neither in coun-
tenance, nor minde seeming to be fully resolved, but pronouncing roundly the reft 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 Civillis read in open assembly; which raised many suspicions in the soildiers heads, because they seemed to be written as to one of the same faction, and spare hardly of the Ger-
man army. Anon word was carried to the campe at Gelduba, where the like was both spoken and done; and thereupon Montanus sent with charge to Civillis, to warne him to desist from making of warre, and that he should not cloke any lon-
er upon rebellion with the colour of following sides. If he fought to helpe Vespas-
ian, his desire now was accomplished, and his purpose performed: To thes alle-
gations Civillis replied, first in simple and craftie teares; afterward perceiving Montanus to be of a hot and fierce disposition, and ready to accept any new im-
pression, he beginneth with a complaint of the manifold perils, which for twenty five yeeres space he had endur'd in the Romane service: A worthy, and just re-
ward (quoth he) have I had of my travells, the death of my brother, mine owne imprisonment, and the bloody words of his army, of whom being demanded to the slaughter, by the law of nations I doe, and may justly seek my revenge, But as for you a Treveri, and the reft but fruitleffe service, continual Tributes, whips, gibbets, and slavery under proud insolent masters?.. Behold I a Captaine of one cohort; and the Caninates and Batavians, a small portion of France, have destroyed and overthrown those vaft and vaine camps of theirs, and doe besiege them with famine and sword, to conclude, if we venture, we shall either recover our libertie, or if we lefe, be in the same state we were in before. Ci-
ivilis having 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 reft which straight after brake out.

X III. Vocula overthroveth two Captaines of Civillis, sent against him as he lay at Gelduba.

C ivilis retaining part of his hoft, sent the old cohorts, and the forwardes of the Germans against Vocula and his army, under the leading of Julius Maxinus, and Claudius Victor his sister's sonne. In the way they tooke up and spoile the standing campe of a wing set at Aisiburg, and so suddenly assau-
ed the enemies campe at Gelduba, that Vocula had no leaure to speake to the so-
ildiers or to display the rankes. Thus much onely as in a tumult, he warne[d to stren-
then the middle battell with Legionary soildiers, and the Auxiliaries to cast them-
selves about on every side. Then our horſemen brake forth, and seeing the ene-
my in good order and array to receive them, they turned their backs, and fled to-
ward their footmen: whereupon a slaughter enflued and no fighting. The cohorts also of the Nervi through fearre or fallhood fled, and barred the fides of our men and so way was made to our Legionary soildiers, who began now to be overthrown within the trenches, and to lose their ensignes, when as suddenly with a new sup-
ply the fortune of the battell was changed. For certaine cohorts of Valones le-
vied by Galba, and then sent for, comming neere the camp, and hearing the noise, as they fought, assailed the enemies backs being intensive another way, and caused a great
great terror then so small a number could otherwise have done, had not the enemy beleaved, some of them, that the rest from Noveſium, and some, that the whole power from Magontiacum was come. That error also increased the Romans courage: and whileſt they presumed upon other men's strength they recovered their own. The most valiant of the Batavian footmen were slaine, the horsemen escaped with the enſignes and captives that were taken in the first conflict: on our side were slaine that day more in number, but men of small service; the Germans loft the very flower, and strength of their army. Both the Generals by like default deferred the overthrow in reason alike: and winning were negligent both alike to follow their fortune. For if Civilis had furnished his side with greater forces, they could never have been by so few cohorts incloſed about: and the came of the Romans being, as it was, by force broken up, had doubtleſſe been utterly razed. Vocula likewise lacking ſcouts abroad to signifie the enemies approach was suddenly surprisèd, and in one moment went to fight, and was overcome: afterward winning more by lucke then deſert, and not trusting his own victory nor using the benefit thereof, he vainely trifled out many days before he would march toward the enemy, whom if he had presently followed and purſued the course of his victory effectually, he might at that blow have raised the siegę of the Legions at Vetera.

XIV. Vocula putteſth Civilis to flight, and entereth Vetera.

Civilis in the meane time had affayed to induce the Legions to surrender, as though the Romans had been quite overthrown, and his men obtained an entire victory. For proofe whereof he commanded the Roman enſignes, and banners to be carried about, and the priſoners produced inſight, whereof 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 beleive his relation the better, and withal by waſting and burning of the villages they might discerne that their owne victorious army was comming. When Vocula came neere unto Vetera he commanded the enſignes to be pitched in the fight of the campe, and a ditch and trench to be caſt round about: that laying aside their baggage and needleſſe furniture in place of safety, they might fight more lightly and leſſe encumbered. Whereupon the ſouldiers began to exclaime, crying to goe to the battell, and now they were growne to that cutume to threaten their Leader. So without taking to much time as onely to fet the battell in array, disordered, and tired, they began the fight, for Civilis was ready to preſent them the battell, reſting no leſſe ſaffiance in the follies and faults of his enemies, then in the vertue and valour of his own people. Of the Roman ſide the matter went doubtfull and hard, and the most mutinous proved the moft daffards: some there were which mindeful of the victory lately obtained kept their ſtanding, gaſted the enamy, and animed themselves and their fellows. The battell being thus brought back again, which crew while in a manner was loſt, they held up their hands to them in the camp, that they should not neglect to uſe the opportunitie, who beholding all things from the walls issuéd forth all at the gate, and by chance Civilis being by the fall of his horse overthrown, of both ſides was thought to be wounded or slaine; which greatly dismayed his men and caused them to breake, and contrarily put courage in ours. But Vocula purſued not the chace, but entering Vetera onely augmented the rampiers, and towers of the camp, as against a new siege, being had in a jealouſie, by
of Cornelius Tacitus.

by this kinde of cold dealing, to desire the continuance of the warre: and not without cause, having so often marred the victory for want of good following.

XV. Vocula vittailleth Vetera, and returneth to Gelduba, and thence to Novesium, where Hordeonius in a mutiny is slaine. Vocula with his power goeth to relieve Magniacionem besieged by the Germans. The faithfulness of the Treveri to the Romanes at the beginning of these troubles.

Nothing distressed our soldiers so much, as lacke of provision and food. Whereupon the carriages of the Legions, with a weak and unserviceable company were sent to Novesium, that from thence by land they might furnish the army with victualls; for the enemies were masters of the river. The first convoy pased peaceably without molestation, Civilis being not yet recovered of his hurt: but anon understanding another company was sent to Novesium, and certaine 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 roving about licenciously, he sent before to take up the bridges and straits, and then in good order charged upon them. The battle was fought with troupes displayed out thinly in length; and continued doubtfull, until the night tooke up the quarrell. The cohorts proceeded forward to Gelduba, the campe standing there as it was, guarded by the soldiours which Vocula had left. There was no question what peril there would be in the returne, the forragers being but few, and heavily loaden: whereupon Vocula determining to goe out and relieve them, increas’d his army with a thousand men choisen out of the two Legions, which were besieged at Vetera, the first and fifteenth, a stubborn and headstrong soldiour, and hating his capaines. More went then were commanded, at their going openly murmuring, that they would no longer indure famine, nor be obnoxious to the secret practises of the Lieutenants: but those which remained behind complained, that they, by carrying away so many men, were forsaken, and left as a pray to the enemy. Whereupon a double mutiny grew, the one part recalling Vocula seeditiously, and the other in like sort refusing to turne againe to the campe. In the meanes season Civilis besieged Vetera. Vocula marcheth to Gelduba, and leaving Gelduba (which Civilis straightway tooke up) from thence to Novesium, not farre from whence, shortly after, his horsemens skirmishted with the enemy prosperously. But prosperitie and adversitie inflamed alike the soldiours to seeke their capaines destruction: and the Legions being augmented, by that increas out of the fift and fifteenth Legion, more in solently required their donative, understanding that money was sent from Vitellius. Whereupon Hordeonius, without further delay divided the money among them in Vespianis name, which was the principall thing that munftred matter, and fed the mutiny which followed. For the soldiours, having idle spending money, gave themselves to riot and banquetting, and assemblies by night, and by that means renewed their former wrath and displeasure against Hordeonius, whom they haled out of his chamber and slew, none of the Lieutenants or Tribunes daring to gain say, or withstand them being hardened, by reason of the night season, against all modesty and shame. The like was intended against Vocula, if he had not in a bondmans attire escaped unknowne in the darke. Asoone as the heat of their fury 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, desiring
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defiring supply of money and men, themselves when Civilis approached, as the common fort without head is headlong, fearfull and sluggishe, rashly tooke up their weapons, and soone laying them downe ran away. Adversitie breed discord, those of the upper army defoyning their caufe from the others. Notwithstanding the images of Vitellius were set up again in the camp, and in the cities of Belgium adjoyning, when as Vitellius him selfe was now downe. Then the soldierys of the first Legion and the fourth and eighteenth upon repentance came in, and submitted themselves unto Vocula, at whose hands receiving againe the oath to Vespasion, they were led forth to raife the siege at Magoniacum. The army which believed it (consisting of Catti, Ufipii and Matiaci) was already deputed away laden with spoiles, and being by our men met with on the way scattered and at unawares, was in part put to the sword. Moreover the Treveri along their confines caft a trench with a parapet, and with a great slaughter on each side skirmished against the Germans, until shortly after revolting, by that odious fact, they defaced all their good service done heretofore to the Romanes.

XVI. The disposition of the common people of the Citie, at the beginning of the yeere. The ordinary Senate upon the first day of January. Mutianus supplanteth Antonius Primus.

In the mean seazon Vespasion seconde time Consull and Titus in absence entered their office, the citie being in great anguish and diversly perplexed, besides the miseries which presently they felt upon a false alarme of the revolt of Africk, and the rebellion of Pisio Proconsull there, a man of milde and quiet disposition: but because through the tempestuousness of the winter the ships came not home, the poore people which day by day were accustomed to buy bread, and cared for nothing else of common affaires but corne, feared that all the ships of that coast were purposefully stayed, and the corne detained, and fearing quickly beleived it. In which imaginary Conceit the Vitellianists also confirmed them, who had not as yet wholly left off their former affections and humours. Neither was the rumour displeasing unto the winners, as hoping to make their profit thereby, whose infatiable lust and desires no forren warre, much lesse any civill victory could ever fill or content. The first of January the Senate was assembled by Iulius Frontinus the Cicit Pretor, and solemnely thanks with praise concluded upon to the Lieutenants and armies, and kings which friended the caufe. The Pretorship also was taken from Tertius Julianus, because he had forsaken his Legion applying it selfe to Vespasion side, and bestowed upon Plotius Gripus. Hormus was made a Gentleman of Rome, and straightways Frontinus resigning Domitianus, Caesar tooke the place. In his name all letters were written and edicts published, but the power and direction of affaires restted in Mutianus, save that Domitian either pricked forward by his friends, or upon his own pleasure, & lust presumed to do many things of himselfe. But Mutianus principall feare was of Antonius Primus and Arius Varus, whom, befoide that they were greatly renowned for their late famous exploits, and in great credit with the fouldiers, the common people also loved well because they had staine none but in the field. Moreover it was given out by some, that Antonius had solicited Scribonianus Craflus, a man of great honour, both in respect of his worthy anceloures, and of his late brothers high place, to take upon him the state, affuring him of a sufficient number of complices to uphold and maintain it, had not Scribonianus...
of Cornelius Tacitus.

Scribonianus refused the offer: a man so greatly fearing uncertainties, that even an assured certainty could not easily have stirred him. Therefore Mutianus, because Antonius openly could not be put down, spent upon him many good words, and great commendation in the Senate house, and secretly laded him with promises, putting him in hope of nearer Spaine, which by the departure of Cluvius Rufus lay void, and bestowed upon his friends Tribuneships, Captainships liberally. And when Mutianus had filled with these windes of hope and desire his emptie vain-glorous minde, he proceeded subtly to infringe his power, and utterly put him out of his strength, by dismissing unto their wintering place the seventh Legion, which did most earnestly affect Antonius. The third Legion also that depended upon Aurius Varus was sent away backe into Syria; another part of the army was carried into Germany. So the citie being disburdened of those which were prone to breed trouble, recovered her former estate, the lawes tooke their due discourse, and the magistrates refumed their charge.

XVII. Certaine masters which passed in the Senate.

The day that Domitian after his newe honour came into the Senate, he made a briefe and courteous speech concerning his fathers, and brothers absence, and of his owne green e耶ers and lacke of experience, with a comely grace and decent behaviour: his often blushing and being out of countenance, his qualities being not yet knowne abroad, was reputed meekness and bashfulness. When as he proposed that Galba should be restored to his honour and dignitie, Curtius Montanus was of opinion, that the memory of Piso should be solemnized, the Senators allowed of both: howbeit concerning Piso it tooke none effect. After this, certaine were allotted to fee restitution made of those things, which had bee ne by force taken away in the warre, and some others, to view and set up the brazen tables of the lawes, which by tract of time were decayed, and others to reforme, & purge the publike records, and regifteres, which by flattery of times were corrupted, and to moderate and fliar the publike expences. Tertius Julianus was restored to his Pretorship, after it was knowne that he fled to Vespasian: notwithstanding Griphus kept his roome too. Then the Senate awarded, that the cause betweene Munosius Rufus, and Publius Celer should be revived and determined: and so Publius was condemned, and satisfaction made to the soule of Soranus. In this daies worke as the publike severitie of the Senate was notable, so privately Munosius wanted not his due commendation, for having judicially prosecuted so just a revenge: as contrarily Demetrius the Cynicke was generally blamed, for that ambitiously, and without regard of his credite, he had lent his hand to protect a manifest offender. For Publius himselfe had neither spirit nor tongue to plead his owne cause. When the signe was given, and a flagge of revenge, as it were, set out against the accusers, Junius Mauricus requested Domitian, that it would please him to communicate a copy to the Senate of the Princes records and papers, whereby they might be certified particularly, who had required to have the accusing of whom. Answr was made, that the Princes advise 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 formoth, and the rest, as their voices were severally asked, solemnly protesting, and calling the gods to witnesse, that they never had attempted nor done any act against the life of any, nor reaped commoditie or honour by the calamities of others, they which were guilty
guilty that way pronouncing it faintly, and mincing the oath, but diversly wrestling and changing the words. The Senators allowed of them which were truly, and openly reproved others perjury: which reproofs lay most heavily upon Sarioles Vocula, and Nonius Actianus, and Cestius Severus, persons infamous for their often accusings under Nero: and beside, which aggravated his cause, Sarioles had lately attempted the like with Vitellius: so that they bent their fists against him, and ceased not to offer violence, until he departed the house. From him they went to Paetus Africanus, seeking to throw him out likewise, because he had given information against the Scribonian brethren, renowned both for their wealth and mutuall agreeing together, and procured their destruction with Nero. Africanus neither durst confesse the matter objected, nor could well deny it: but turning himselfe to Vibia Crispus who pressed him neerest with his interrogatories, he on the other side challenged him of the like, seeking to shift off the odiousness of that, which he could not directly defend, by joyning the plaintiff in the same crime.

That day Vespasianus Messalla wanne himselfe great credit, both for eloquence and good nature, undertaking, being under Senators age, to make interceffion for his brother Aquilius Regulus. Regulus was extremely hated, because he had wrought the overthrow of the noble houses of the Craffli, & of Orphitus. He was at his own suit appointed by the Senate to be their accuser, and undertook that odious charge voluntarily being very young, & not, as some others, to avoid danger that in refusing might grow to himselfe, but in hope of rising higher thereby. And Sulpitia Prætextata wife of Craffli, with foure of his children presented themselves a readinesse to prosecute the matter, if it would please the Senate to take knowledge thereof, Messalla, neither justifying the cause nor the man, but opposing himselfe against the perils of his brother, had moved some to compassion. Then Curtius Montanus replyed with a bitter oration, proceeding so farre, that he charged Regulus with giving of money after Galbaes death to him that slew Clos, with biting of Piofos head being dead. These things (quoth he) I trow Nero never constringed you to doe: neither faved you either your life, or your honour by such savage crueltie. Let us grant their defence to be tolerable, which chose rather to bring others into ruine, then themselves into perill, for your part you had nothing tolee: your father going into banishment left you void of all danger that way: his goods were parted amongst his creditorous and your age as yet not capable of honour: you had nothing that Nero should either desire from you, or feare in you. Nay it was your owne bloud-thirsty humour, and gaping for gaine, which caused you to employ your gifts, being as yet not knowte nor tried in defending any mans cause, to the destruction of the nobilitie: when at one blow you ruined and overthrew innocent children, and reverend old men, honorable women, and by this good service in defoyng the Commonwealth merited Consulary spoiles, seven thousand thousand sesterces, and an honourable Priestshood: when you blamed Nerones flack and remiss kindes of proceeding, that he went house by house and tured out both himselfe and the whole company of the accusers, whereas he might with like facilitie and speaking of a word subvert the whole Senate. Keepe I pray you (my Lords) and make store of a counsellor of fo good a dispatch, that every age may be furnishe: and as our old men imitate Marcellus and Crispus, so your young may doe Regulus. Dishonesty even when it thriveth not, findeth followers, what will it do then when it doth prosper and flourishe? and whom we dare not offend having been but Quefstor, what shall we doe when we shall have passe the higher offices of Pretor and Consul? or doe ye thinke that Nero shall be the last tyrant? indeed so they also beleived
believed, which overlived Tiberius and Caius when in the mean time arose another more cruel and detestable then either. We fear not Vespasian; his age warranted him, and his moderate disposition: but precedents due longer the dispositions. We are waxen cold (my Lords) neither are we now the same men, that affoone as Nero was blame required these promoters, and all other instruments of tyranny to be punished more majestically. After the decease of an ill Prince the first day is always the best. With so great applause and liking of the Senate Montanus was heard, that Helvidius conceived hope of the possibility of overthrowing Marcellus also. Therefore beginning his speech with the commendation of Cluvius Rufus, who being as rich, & as famous for eloquence, had notwithstanding in Neros time never procured any mans danger, he pressed Marcellus both with his own fact, and with the others examples, and the Senators fingers even tickled against him. Which when Marcellus perceived, making semblance of departing the house, We are gone Helvidius (quoth he) and leave to you a Senate of your own: take your preaure, and "exercite your kingdom in the presence of the young Prince. After him followeth Vibius Crius both well warmed and netled: Marcellus with a threatening countenance, Crius halfe smiling, but at the entreatie of friends, they came againe to their place. And fo the contention growing hotter, and of the one side many and good, on the other few & mighty banding together, and inveighing spitefully one against the other, that day was confumed in brawlings. The next meeting Domitian beginning to persuade, that old griefs and grudges should not be revived, but buried together with the memory of the late times, wherein men were forced to do many things against their own minde, Mutianus continuing the speech opened at large in favour of the accusers, gently admonishing withall, and as it were intreating them, who seemed to resumme their actions which they had discontined. The Senators, when they saw they were crossed in following their liberty, medled no further, and Mutianus, left the judgement of the Senate should seeme to be little regarded, and a general pardon as it were proclaimed of all crimes committed under Nero, commanded Octavius Sagitta and Antistius Sosianus, Senators by calling, which without leave returned from exile, to be reduced into the same place again. Octavius had frequented with Pontia Posthuma another mans wife adulterously, and because she refused after to marry him, he slew her upon extreme passion of love: Sosianus by his lewd qualities had been the ruin of many: both of them had been condemned and banished by a heavy sentence of the Senate, and others being restored they were left still in the same penalty. But Mutianus could not with all this wipe the ill opinion away of his former dealing: For Sosianus and Sagitta were men vile and of no account, neither mattered it where they lived: but the accusers great gifts, great wealth and great power, being men so well seen in all lewd practices, were feared not without caufe. The Senators minds were anon in part reconciled by means of a certaine caufe heard in the house, and decided according to ancient custome. Manlius Patricius a Senator made complaint, that in the Colony of Siena he was beaten of the multitude at the magistrates commandment, and not contented with this outrage they mourned and wailed, and made shew of celebrating his funerals in his own sight, with many fcornful and reprochfull speeches redounding upon the whole Senate. The parties accused were called, and upon due examination convicted and executed, and an act made to admonish the people of Siena to behave themselves in moderate manner hereafter. At the same time Antonius Flamma was condemned of extortion, at the suite of the Cyrenenies, and exiled for his cruel behaviour, and shedding of innocent blood.

Midst these things there had wellyn broken out a sedition of the soldiers. The Guard-soldiers dismissed by Vitellius, and assembled in favour of Vespasians cause, required their former place: likewise the soldiers, which upon hope of the same room were chosen out of the Legions, demanded performance of promise. Neither could Vitellius well be removed without much bloodshed. So Mutianus, comming to the camp to the end he might better view their yeeres of service, appointed the winners severally to stand, with their enigines and weapons, a little distance asunder. Then he willed the Vitellian gard, as well those which yeelded themselves at Bovilla, as others sought 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 Britishe arms, and so of the rest, if any were, to stand each by themselves. The first sight hereof did straight amaze them, to see the contrary side as in a pitched field flourishing with their weapons and darts, and themselves without armour, deformed, and in poor 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 forthe them out to the slaughter, whereupon they fell to embrace their companions, to hang on their necks, to kisse them as for their last farewell, befeeching not to leave them alone, and that in the like cause they might not abide harder fortune then others, with obsecrations 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 liege men of one sovereigntie, and soldiers of the fame Prince, eafe them of this vaine feare, then the rest of the soldiers present with a shout furthering their teares, and declaring themselves to favour their cause: and so for that day the matter was shut up. Some few days after Domitian in an Oration made offer unto them of land and poiffessions, who being now assured and out of all feare, did boldly refuse it, praying to have their former service and wages againe. It was but a prayer, mary such as could not be denied: and so they were received into the Gard. Afterward they which had servved their yeeres, and accomplished their just number of stipends, were honourably dismissed: some others criminally, and for their misdemeanour singled out one by one: the safest remedy to weaken and disolve the consent of a multitude. Then a motion was made in the Senate, whether upon necessitie indeed, or becaus they would have it to seeme so, that a loane should be made, by private men to the publike of sixty millions of sesterces, and the charge thereof committed to Poppaeus Silvanus: but shortly after the necessitie ceased, or the falsely semblant. Then by a law proposed by Domitian the Confulsips conferred by Vitellius were disannulled: and Flavius Sabinus' funerals were celebrated with Censoriall pompe: great demonstrations of tortues fickleness, turning upside downe whatsoever seemeth high in the world.

XIX. The
About the same time Lucius Piso Proconsull of Africke was slaine: the truth of which murther I will briefly set downe, resuming first certaine former matters, which may seeme to have ministred chiefly occasion, and cause to such like inconveniences. The Legion in Africke, and the Aides assigned to guard 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, & having in jealousie M. Silanus, who then was Proconsull of Africke, removed the Legion from the Proconsull, delivering it to a Lieutenant sent for that purpose. The parting of an office thus betweene two without subordination, and their charge and points of commission lying intermingled, and running jointly together, bred and nourished, as was intended, discords and quarel: and so through finister emulation the Lieutenants office incroched & grew, either because they continued longer in charge, or because inferior persons commonly take more paine & delight in contending with their superiours, the greatest men of the Proconsulls, seeking rather safety then might. Now at this time Valerius Feftus 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 perfwaded him to take upon him the estate, or opposed himseff against Pioes soliciting it is uncertain: for at their secret communication none was present beside: and when Piso was slaine most men inclined to favour the slayer, certaine it is, that the province and soldiery were ill affected toward Vespasian. And some of the Vitellianists escaping out of the citie, layed downe before Piso the great possibility of effectuating that purpose: that France was in terms of revolting, Germanie readie to fide themselves with him, adjoyning the danger wherein he stood for his owne person, and that in a suspected peace open warre was the onely safe course. As these things were in doing, Claudius Sagitta capaine of the Petrin wing came thither, having outayled Papirius a Centurion sent by Mutianus, and avouched that the sayd Centurion had Commission to dispatch Piso: that his kinemen and sonne in law Galerianus was already dispatched in Rome, so that the onely hope of safety consisted in venturing boldly: and of venturing there were but two wayes, either to take arms, or laying into France to offer himselfe there for a head to the Vitellian armies. Notwithstanding all which allegations Piso perfitted unmoveable: and anon the Centurion sent by Mutianus came, who as soon as he arrived at the port of Carthage proclaimed Piso Emperor, wishing to him as Prince all succeffe and prosperitie, and requiring all that he met, being amazed at the wonder, to joynie in the same cry. The credulous common people flocked in the market place & demanded the presence of Piso, filling the citie with shouts and acclamations of joy, partly upon negligence to search out the truth, and partly upon a pleasure in flatteerie. But Piso, whether upon the intimation of Sagitta, or of his owne modestie, refrained from going abroad and committing himselfe to the peoples discretion; & examining the Centurion, perceiving it was but a suare to intrappe him, and so to make him away, he commanded him to be slaine, not so much for hope of escaping himselfe by so doing, as upon just indignation against the Centurion, because the same man had beeone of the murtherers of Clodius Macer, and meant to bring
his hands lately embroiled with the blood of a Lieutenant now to the slaughter of a Proconsul. Then he checked the Carthaginians with a sharp and severe edict, & ceased to execute even the usual points of his office, keeping still within doors, lest any occasion of new commotion by mischance might arise. Festus understanding how the people was daunted and dazed, the Centurion flaine, and other occurrences part true, part false, or enlarged and amplified, as fame feedeth in going, sent certaine horsemen to murther Piso; who making all haste in the dawning of the day brake into the house of the Proconsul with drawn swords, the most part not knowing Piso by sight, being Auxiliaries of the countrey, and Moores picked out for the purpose. Whereupon meeting one of his servants, not far from his bed-chamber, they asked him who he was, and where Piso was to be found: the servant perceiving his masters danger, nobly and resolutely answered, that he was Piso, and so was presently slain in the place: by and by after Piso himselfe was massacred. For there was in the company Sebius Maffa, one of the Procurators of Africk, that knew him; even then a worker of good mens destruction, and one that often will fall in the course of this storie, as an instrument of the mischieves, and a cause of the miseries that we sustained afterward. Festus in the mean time stayed at Adrumetum to watch how the matter succeed, & from thence went to the Legio, where he commanded Cetropius Pisanus the Campe-maister to be committed to ward, upon private displeasures, betweene them, pretending that he was an abettour, and complice of Piso. Some soildiers also and Centurions he punished, and some he rewarded: neither of them for any defect, but because he would seeme to have ended a warre. Then he tooke up the debates betwene the Ophenes and Leptitani, which of small beginnings, as robbing of cattell & corn from the countrey men, were now by force of arms maintaine in the field. For the Ophenes being the weaker side had called the Garamantes to aide them, a savage people and altogether given to robbing & stealing upon their neighbours: whereupon the Leptitani were hardly beleaguered, and their fields being round about wafted, trembled for feare within the walled townes, till such time as the cohorts and wings came, who put the Garamantes to flight, and recovered all the spoile, fave onely that which certaine out-riders had carried further into the countrey, & fold there among their wild inaccessible cottages.

XX. Veſpaſian at Alexandria receiveth advertiſement of the death of Pitellius. The embassage of Vologeſus king of the Parthianſ to him. Titus speech with his father. Corneis sent to Rome. The foundation of the Capitol is laid.
he delivereth over to Titus willing him to prosecute and finish the Jewish war. It is reported that Titus before his departure used long speech and intreaty with his father, desiring him not to believe lightly, or enter in choler at the tale of every backbiter, but rather to reserve himself free for an indifferent audience, and carry a placable mind towards his own sonne. For neither were Legions nor navies so strong defences and rampiers of a Prince estate, as the multitude of children. Friends with time and fortune, sometymes by unadvised defires, or overights, decreafe, fall from us and fade, whereas a mans owne bloud cleaveth fast, and cannot be disjoyned: especially in Princes, whose prosperity as well may others enjoy, but their adversitie touched none neere, but their neerebloud in bloud: and how should they two being brethren agree, if the father gave not first an example. Vespaian not so much pacified toward Domitian, as delighted with the good nature of Titus; had him be of good comfort, and looke to his charge in advancing the weale publick with armes in the field; himselfe would 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 cornere: for the Cittie was in such distresse, and flood in those terms of famishing, that when the corn came from Vespaian, they had not at all in their storehouses above ten daies provision. As concerning the setting up of the Capitol againe, he committed the charge thereof to Lucius Vestinus a Gentleman of Rome, but for authoritie and countenance one of the principal men of the city: by whom the soothsaiers being called together expressly chargd, that the reliques of the former temple should be conveyed and carried away into the mairifes, and the new erected upon the same fame foundation: for it was not the pleasure of the gods the old forme should be altered. The one and twentie of June being a goodely faire day the whole plot of the Temple was bound, and tied about with fillets and garlands. The fouldiers, whose names had lucky significations entered in with fortunate boughes. Afterward the Vestall Virgins, with boies and girdles which had both father and mother alive, washed it with waters fetched from rivers and springs, and running streams. Then Helvidius Priscus the Pretor, Plautus Elinianus one of the chief Priests going before him, hallowed the floore with a solemn sacrifice of a swine, a heape and a bullocke, and laying the entrails upon a greene turfe, calling first upon Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, and the rest of the gods protectors of the Empire, that they would prosper the work, exalt and advance this their owne habitation, begun by the devotion of men, with their divine and celestiall power, he put his hands to the fillets and ropes, where in a huge mighty stone was fast tied, and withall the rest of the Magistrates and Priests, the Senate and Gentlemen, and a great part of the people prefling with great desire and joy, drew the stone to the foundations, throwing in withall ingots of gold and silver, and ore never tried in the furnance, but raw as it grew: for the soothsaiers forewarned that the worke should not be defiled with stone, or gold which had beene destinatd to any other use: onely the roofe was made higher: that alteration alone was not disallowed by the gods, and the former temple, for want of proportion that way, was thought to lacke face, and majesty convenient for a building, wherein such a maffe of men shoule holden, for whereas they being together beholde the same, they concluded, and the workmen were contented to beginne so: after the same manner it was proceeded of the other works.
When the death of Vitellius was heard of in France and Germanie, it doubled the warre. For Civilis now laying aside dissimulation declared himselfe, and made open warre against the Roman Empire. The legions which had served Vitellius wished rather for Weary bondage, then to have Vespasian 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 indeed a rumour was noised that our standing camps in Pannonia and Moesia were frately besieged by the Sarmatians and Dacians: the like was reported of Britannie. But nothing per twitted them so much to beleve, that the Roman Empire was come to an end, as the burning of the Capitol. For the city had beene once before taken by the French, but the seat of Jupiter then being untaken, the Empire stood and remained: whereas now by this fatal fire a manifest signe of the gods heavy wrath, and displeasure was given. And the Druides out of their vain superstitious learning did prophesie that the Empire of the world was to passe, and be feated beyond the mountains. Moreover a common fame went, that the noblemen of France, when they were sent by Otho against Vitellius, did covenant together before their departure, that in case the Roman Empire were ceased not to be torn by multiplying of civil wars, and domesticall troubles one strangue succeeding another, they would joyntly 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 pased messages, between Civilis and Clavicus captain of the wing of the Treveri. Clavicus in birth and wealth farre exceeded the rest of that quarter. He was extract from the line of their ancient Kings, his ancestors renowned in warre and peace, and himselfe boasted to be descended of enemies to the people of Rome, rather then friends. Unto him in this action adjoyned themselves Julius Tutor, & Julius Sabinus, the one of Triers, the other a Lignon. Tutor was appointed by Vespasian over-see of the bank of Rhene. Sabinus besides a natural vanity was pricked forward with the vain-glory of a supposed kinred; that his great grandmother for her beauty had pleased Julius Caesar, when he warred in France, and was by him carnally known. 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 publike state of the City utterly abhorred all such attempts. Nowithstanding
of Cornelius Tacitus

withstanding certaine of the Ubij and Tungri were present at the consultacion: but the strongest part and that which carried the matter was of the Treveri and Lingones. Neither made they any long deliberation, but all with one voyce cryed amaine, that the Romans did nothing but rage in civill dissentions, that the Legions were slaine, Italy wafted, and the Citie of Rome even taken; that all the armes were held occupied every one with their severall wares: and if the Alpes were fortified with good and sufficient garrison, and so their liberty won and attuned, then might France determine at leisure what course to take of further proceeding, and how far they lift to enlarge. This was no sooner saide then allowed: a scruple remained concerning the remnant of the Roman fouldiers. Many were of minde that they were to be put to the sword, as mutinous, and faithlefe persons, and polluted with the blood of their leaders: but the opinion of sparing them prevailed, least hope of pardon being taken away they would become desperate. So it was thought more convenient by faire meanes to allure them to the partie, and that the Lieutenants alone being made away, the common fouldiers would easilly be wonne to the side upon guiltiness of their owne misdirts, and hope of impunitie. This was the forme of their first consultacion, and some were sent abroad into France to kindle and stirre up the warre: they themselves pretended all subjection and obedience to Vociula, that they might oppresse him at the more unawares. Vociula had secret intelligence hereof, but he had not forces to punishe it, his Legions being both thinne, and unfedfaít. So between unsure fouldiers, and secret enemies, supposing it the best way that now he could take to use their owne arts against them, he dissembled the matter and went downe to Coleyn. Thither Claudius Laboe was escaped, having corrupted his keepers, who as before we have saide was taken, and confined out of the way into Frifia, and promissing that if he might have men he would goe into Batavia, and reunite the greatest part of the countrey againe to the Romane Empire: having a pretty company of horfemen and footemen attainted, he durft not enterprise any thing amongst the Batavians, but drew certaine of the Nervii and Bethaſſi after him into the field, and rather by stealth, then by way of open invasion, made some incursions upon the Caninateses and Marlaci.

XXI. Clàcusicus and Tutor corrupt Vociula's fouldiers. Vociula at Novesium is forstaken by his fouldiers, and slaine, who immediately sweare fidelitie to the Empire of France.

Vociula allured by thefraude of the Frenchmen removeth towards the enemy. When they approached to Vetera, Clàcusicus and Tutor pricking before under colour of discovering met with the Germane Captaines, and concluded the bargain, and thereupon encamped their companies with a severall trench from the Legonian fouldiers. At which signe of manifest contempt and revolt Vociula conceiving great indignation cryed aloud, that the Romane state was not by civill wares brought yet to so low an ebe, as that the Treveri also and Lingones need to despise it: so many countreys continuing faithfull, our armies being victorious, the fortune of the Empire standing entire, & the gods ready to revenge this perfidious part: so long agoe Sacrovir and the Aedui, so of late Vindex and France were overthorne, each at one blow, and now also the perfidious breakers of treaties so solemnly sworne were to looke for againe the same gods and the same fall. Julius and Augustus knew better their crooked inclinations: Galba, and the abatement of their tributes hath made them our enemies. Now they are foes because
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cause their yoke is too gentle, but when they shall be ranfacct and strip of their wealth, they will be our friends and subjects again. When Vocula had thus spoken with great spirit and courage, seeing Clasficus and Tutor notwithstanding to continue in their traiterous purpose, he retired back to Noveium. The Frenchmen fate downe two miles from the towne in the fields, to which place the Centurions and souldiers retorting from Noveium were bought, and corrupted to a villanie never heard of before, that a Romane armie should swear allegiance to strangers, and for a pledge of so wicked a part, either kill their Lieutenants, or deliver them prisoners. Vocula, albeit many counselled him to withdrawe, chusing rather to stick to it manfully, then cowardly to flee, called an assembly, and spake to them in this manner.

"I never at any time spake unto you, either more carefull for you, or careles for my selfe. That my destruction is purposed I am well contented to heare, and accept death in these troubles as an end of my miseries. Of you I am ashamed, and you do I pity, not because any martiall exploit, or matter of armes is intended a gainst you; for that were agreeing to a souldiers profession, and according to the law of the field at an enemies hand: but because Clasficus with your hands hopeth to fight with the Romans, and abufeth your simplicity with the goodly oath and imaginary Empire of France. Are we so far now fallen, not onely from our fortune & courage, but even from our ancient precedents too? For how oft did the Roman Legions chuse rather to die then yeeld one inch of ground to the enemy? Our allies have many time sufferd their cities to be razed, theſelves, their wives and their children to be consumed to ashes, without gaining other reward, to only to keep their faith and their fame. The Legions at Vetera support all with patience hunger and siege, and yeeld neither for fear nor faire words. We, besides men and armoure, and a camp strongly fortified, have provision and victuals sufficient for a long war, if need were. Money lately we had, not onely for pay, but also to serve for donative too: whiche whether you lift to accept as coming from Vepfasian, or from Vitellius, sure both ways it came from a Romane Emperour. If you do it for feare of the battell (albeit it be no admittable reason in you who have foiled so often at Gelduba, at Vetera, and so many times overthrown the enimy) we have trenches, and wals, and waies to prolong till more strength and supply come from the countreys about us. If it be for displeasure at me, you have other Lieutenants and Tribunes, nay Centurion or common souldier, make your choice of any fo he be a Romane to lead you. Let never for shame fo prodigious a thing be bruited throughout the whole world, that Civislis & Clasficus should invade Italy, having a guard of Romans attendant. What if the Germans & Frenchmen should leade toward the walls of the city? will you fight against your own native foile and sharpen your speares against the wombe of your mother? The onely conceit of fo great an impiety striketh an horrorre into my minde. Shall Tutor of Triers have watch and ward as a Prince? shall a Batavian give you the signe of the battell? will you be carried about for supplements to the Germane regiments? and what end will you finde of your treason? when the Romane Legions shall march out against you what shall become of you then, but of fugitives to be fugitives againe, and traitors of traitors, between your old oath and your new, an abomination to the Gods, and to men? O thou moft mighty and mercifull Jupiter, whom with fo many triumphs these eight hundreth and twenty years we have adored and worshipp'd; and thou Romulus the founder and father of the citie, I pray and moft humbly beseech you, that if it be not your heavenly pleasures, that
under my hind and government this campe should be kept uncorrupted and clean, yet at least you will not permit it to be polluted, and stained by Tutor and Clæassicus: and that it would please you to inspire to the Romane souldier, either a minde to follow honourable courses, or else a speedy and harmeles repentance. The oration was diversely taken, as of men diversely affected betweene fear, hope, and shame. After the speech Voclua withdrew himselfe, and consulting upon his end, was by his freedmen and bondmen staled from a voluntary preventing of a most shamefull death: for Clæassicus sent by and by by Æmilius Longinus a fugitive of the first Legion to dispatch that piece of service. As for the Lieutenants, "Hermenius, and Numisius, it seemed sufficient to put them in prison. Then Clæassicus assuming the marks and ornaments of the Romane governours came into the campe: and albeit he were hardened to all kinde of desperate mischiefe, yet would not his utterance then serve him any further, but barely to recite the words of the oath. All that were present sware fidelity to the Empire of France. Then he advanced the murtherer of Voclua to a higher place, and the rest he rewarded, each according to the lewd service they did.

XXIII. Tutor bringeth Coleyn and all upper Germany to the oath of France. The Legions of Vetera surrender the place to Civilis with condition onely of saving their lives: which notwithstanding is not performed.

After these things Clæassicus and Tutor divided charges. Tutor with a strong power lay about Coleyn, and brought both them, and all the souldiers which lay upon the upper bank of the Rhene, to the same oath, slaying the Tribunes at Magontiacum, & driving away the Camp-master which refused to sware. Clæassicus suborned certaine of the lewdest companions of those which had yeelded themselves commanding them to go to Vetera, and there to proclaim pardon to all those, that would submit themselves to follow the present course: otherwise to looke for no hope but sword, and famine and all extremities. They which were sent used their owne example as a motive unto them. On the one side the respect of their loyaltie, on the other their present needes, distracted the persons besieged, betweene the two courses of honour and shame. While they delayed to resolve, their food failed them both usuall and unusuall: they had eaten their mules and horses, and other creatures, which being otherwise abhorred and loathed, hunger had made favorie and sweet: and lastly feeding of branches, and sprigs, and pulling of grasse which grew in the walls, they were a patterne of misery and patience, all such time as sending Embassadors to Civilis for life, they staine their honorable actions with a shamefull and dishonorable end. Neither was their petition admitted, before they sware fidelity to France. Then he granted them life, referring the spoile of the camp to himselfe, and appointed keepers to stay the money, the servants, and stuffe, and others to conduct the souldiers empty away. About five miles off the Germanes lying in ambush, rose and suddenly set upon them unawares, such as were most valiant and made resistance were slaine where they stood: many were cut off in the flight, the rest recovered the campe. Whereupon Civilis made complaint and rebuked the Germans as having wickedly broken their faith; whether it was but a countenance of his, or else he could not bridle them in their fury is not affuredly knowne. When the campe was ransacked they set it on fire, and all the men that escaped in the field, were burned therein.

XXIII. Civilis
XXIII. Civilis upon performance of his vow cuteth his beard. Of Velleda Queen of the Brućerians. Two Legions of them which forsook Vocaula and yielded themselves to Classicus, namely the sixteenth and the first, shi one from Novefium, the other from Bonna their standing campes, are by commandment transported to the Triers.

Civilis upon a barbarous vow when he first entred warre with the Romanes, suffered his yellow haire to grow long without barbing, and now, as upon accomplishment thereof caused it to be cut, when the slaughter of the Legions was performed: and it was reported, that hee set up as markes, certaine of the captives, for his little sonne to shooote and dart at in sport. Nevertheless neither did he swear, nor caused any Batavian to take the oath of France, truting in the strength and assistance of the Germanes, and if there should happen hereafter contention to grow with the French about the Empire, accounting himself both of more name and ability. Mummius Lupercus the Lieutenant of a Legion among other presents were sent to Velleda, a Virgin of the Brućerian nation, and Queene over many countreys: so the old manner of the Germanes is, to beleue many of their women to be Prophetes, and so, superstition increasing, goddeses. And that time the authoritie of Velleda was grown in more reputation, by reason that shee had told before hand the Germanes should prosper, and the Roman Legions should be destroyed. But Lupercus was slaine in the way: a few Centurions and Tribunes French borne were referred as a pledge of alliance and amity. The standing campes of the cohorts, wings and Legions, were overthrown and burned, those onely excepted which were at Magontiacum and Vindonissa. The sixteenth Legion with the Auxiliaries, which at the same time yeelded themselves, was commanded to depart from Novefium to Triers, and a day set down, before which they should avoid the camp. The meane time was spent in fundry cares. Some of the cowardliest were terrified with the late example of which were slaine at Vetera, in their issueing out: the better sort blushed for shame, to thinke of the infamous and difhonourable journey, whom they must follow for guides, and how all things should be at the simple pleasure & discretion of those, whom they had made Lords over their life and death: others without respect of dishonour packed about them mony and such things as were of most price: others made ready their harness and buckled themselves to their weapons as though they were going to field. While they were thus musing, and casting theircards, the houre of remove 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 ensignes tied up, whereas contrarily the French banners glittered and played on every hand: in summe a silent and sorrowfull troup, and as it were a long funerall pompe. The conductour Claudius Sanctus augmented the indignitie, one eyed, ill-favoured in countenance, and weaker in wit. The dishonor was doubled, when as the first Legion relinquished their campes at Bonna, upon the like commandement adjoynd themselves to the other: and the countreymen, that a little before quaked for feare at the very name of a Romane, when the fame of the Legions captivity was noised, ran out of the houses, and fields from all quarters, to gaze and feed their eyes with so
of Cornelius Tacitus.

...strange a sight. The Picentine wing could not endure the joy, and influting of the people, but neglecting as well the threats as the promises of Sanctus, turned to Magontiacum; and meeting by chance in the way Longinus the murtherer of Vo-
cula 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 Trier.

XXV. An embassage of the Tenetianstoch them of Coleyn.
Coleyn yeelded to Civilis and Velleda upon rea-
sonable composition.

Civilis and CLassicus puffed up with prosperous successe made a ques-
tion, whether they should permit the city of Coleyn to bee sacked by their fooulders. Their natural inclination to cruelty and covetoufnes drew them that way, but the policy of warre was against it, and especially the opinion of clemency needfull in those which are to found a new Empire: the remembrance also of a private benefit made Civilis more tractable toward them, because in the very beginning of the troubles taking his fonne in their towne they committed him to honourable custodie. Notwithstanding the nations beyond the Rhene envied the riches, and growing of the city, and judged there could be no end of war, unleefe that towne were either made a common habitation for all Germans indifferently, or else rased to the ground, and so the Ubii also dispersed. Wherfore the Tenetieri, a people only seuered from them by the river, sent an embassage, with instigation to declare their charge in the common councell of Coleyn, which one of the most im-
portious among the embassadors uttered in this peremptory manner. We thanke our gods and yours, and Mars cheife of all gods, that you are returned into the corps and communitie, and name of Germanie; and we rejoyce for your sakes, that you shall at length live as freemen among freemen. For hitherto the Romans have hath both water and land, and in a manner the very heaven it selfe betweene you & us to hinder our conferring & meeting, or else which is more contumelious to mar-
tiall men, that we should never have accessse to your city but unarmed, and naked almost and that guarded and paying a toll. But now, to the end that this mutuall league of alliance and friendship may stand & continue for ever, we require of you to pull downe the wallles of your towne, the bulwarkes of your bondage, for even wilde beasts shut up forget their accustomed valour and vertue. Next we require you to kill all the Romans within your territory: liberty 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 seek to sever his cause from the rest. Moreover that it may be indifferent both for us, and you, as it was in times paft to our fathers, to converse and inhabite upon both sides of the river. As nature hath communieated the day and the night to all men, so she hath layed open all lands of the world to valiant minds. Resume your ancient cuftomes and lawes, laying aside all your ef-
feminate pleasures, by which meanes, more then with armes the Romans subdue nations & countries. So shall you be a people uncorrupt, without admixtion of foraine manners or bloud: so shall you forget servitude, & either live in liberty, or be lords over others. The Agrippinees taking a time to deliberate: seeing neither future feares would permit them to yeeld to the conditions, nor their present estate plainly to refuse them, made answere in this manner. We have taken, you see, the first opportunity of recovering our liberty, perchance with more haft then good speede, that we might be joyned with you, and the rest of the Germans our 
kinsmen:
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"kinsmen: but seeing the Roman armies do gather of al sides against us, it is meeter
and safer to strengthen, then to pull downe the walls of our city. As for strangers,
Italians or other, which lived among us, either they are slaine in the warres, or fled
home to their countries. To them which be ancient inhabitants amongst us, and
are linked with us in marriage, and to their off-spring, this countrey is their own na-
tive foile: neither do we thinke you fo unreasonale as to with us to kill our parents,
or bretheren, or children. For taxe and tallages we acquite and discharge you for
ever: you shall passe and repasse without all impeachment, but onely in the day
time, and unarmed, till our raw and new amity be joyned, and confirmed by con-
tinuance and cuftome. Civillis and Velleda shall be arbiters: to their knowledge we
referreth the caufe, and the conclusion of the whole treatie. The Teucieri being
thus in part pacified, embassadors were sent to Civillis and Velleda with presents
who obtayned all things as they of Coleyn desired: onely they were not admitted
to have accesse of speeche with Velleda, nor suffered to see her, for more keeping of
state, and to maintaine a more reverend conceit in the hearts of the people. She was
lodged in a high tower, and one of her kinred appointed to carry as from a goddesse
her oracles and answers.

XXVI. The Bethafi, Tungri, and Nervii yeeld
to Civillis.

Civillis thus strengthened with new increafe of confederates, resolvd to af-
sociate the cities adjoyning, or to warre against them if they refisted. So he
tooke in the Sunici, and composéd their able men into cohorts: but as he
purposed to have paffed further, Claudius Labeo with a raw company of Bethafi, Tungri, and Nervii, having feiled upon the bridge of the Mohe, and trufts to the
advantage of the place oppofed himfelfe and ftopped his paffage. The event of the
skirmifh was doubtfull in the straites, till the Germans swimming over the river
came upon Labeos backe: and withall Civillis, whether upon a bold venturé, or
upon a fet match, rushd into the middeft of the Tungri, and with a loud voice pro-
tefted, that the warre was not undertakend to that end, that the Batavians & Treveri
should be overaigne lords over all other nations: Farre be all fuch arrogancy (quoth he)
from our thought: only receive us as your good friends and allies. Lo here for
my part I commit my felfe to your hands, employ me as you lift, either for a captain
or a common foldier. The common people was much moved at these words, and
put up their swords, and Campanus and Juvenalis chief men of the Tungrians yeeld-
ded the whol enation unto him: Labeo before he was compaffed in, fled away. The
Bethas i alfo and Nervii yeelded themselves: whom Civillis adjoyning to his power
became very piffaut and strong, all the cities either fearing, or favouring him vo-
luntarily.

XXVII. Iulius Sabinus with his Lingones giveth battell to the
Sequani, and is overthrowne.

In the meane season Julius Sabinus, breaking downe the monuments & records
of the Roman alliance, tooke upon him the lytle and title of Caesar, & led after
him a huge and rude company of his countrey folkes, the Lingones, against the
Sequani, a state bordering upon them, and faithfull to us. Neither did the Sequani
refufe to wage battell; wherein fortune favoured the better side, and the Lingones
were
were discomfited. Sabinus rashly he entered to give battell without due circumspection, so without feare of shame he ranne cowardly away: and to raise a rumour that he was dead, he set on fire the house into which he was knowne to have fled, and there was suppos'd 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 faithfulnesse of his friends, and the memorable example of his wife Epponina.

XXVIII. A Diete of the cities of France summoned at Rheyms. The preparations as Rome for the warre against the Batavians, Treveri, and Lingones. The Diete at Rheyms resolueveth upon peace, notwithstanding the embasage of the Treveri and Lingones, and the allegations of Tullius Valentinus to the contrary.

His successe of the Sequani rebated and faied the violent course of the warre. The cities began to consider better of matters, and to remember their covenants and leagues with the Romanes, at the motion principally of the Remi, who sending messengers throughout France summoned a Diet, to deliberate what course they should take, keep peace, or seek liberty. All these things reported at Rome to the worle, troubled Mutianus, left the captains whom he had chosen. Annius Gallus and Petilius Cerealis, albeit excellent men, should hardly be wade through so mighty a warre. Neither was it expedient to leave the citie without a governour or head, and yet not in Domitians whose wholfe and unbridled affections were greatly feared: especially Antonius Primus, and Arrius Varus, as before we have hewed, being suspected not fully to favour the state. Moreover Varus was captain of the Guard and strong, as having so many soldiers at commandement. Therefore Mutianus before his departure displaced him from the roome, and left 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 Guard Arustinus Clemens, one neerely allied to the house of Vespasian, and dearly beloved of Domitian: alledgeing that his father had worthily performed the same place under Cauis the Emperour. The name was acceptable to the soldiers, and the man, though a Sénatour by calling, was thought sufficient to discharge both the roome. The greatest men of the citie were willing 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 forward upon hope, and young blood: Mutianus seeking delays to retain the fierceneffe of Domitian, left if he put himslef in possession of an army, through the heat of youth and ill counsellers, tum us fransis fe, he should disturb both the peace and the warre. The six and eighth of the victorious Legions, of the Vitelliani's the one and twentieth, the second of the lately enrolled, were conducted part over the Penin and Cottian Alpes, part over the Graian: and moreover the fourteenth Legion was sent for out of Britanny, the sixth and tenth out of Spaine. Now the cities of France partly upon the same of the hostile approaching, and partly of their owne disposition inclining to the milder course, met incouncil at Rheyms, where the embassage of the Treveri attended, whereof Tullius Valentinus was the chiefest man a principal firebrand of the warre: who with a premeditate oration applied to the Romans all those objections, with
with mighty monarchies are usually charged, sparing no spite of words, nor art to aggravate 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 Julius Auſpex, one of the noblemen of Rheims, discoursing of the puissance of the Roman power, and the great commodities of peace, and affirming that war might be commenced by cowards, but must be fought with the hazard of the most valiant men; and that even now the Roman legions were upon their backs, by this grave speech fraied them all: the wiser sort with respect of duty and faith, the younger of danger and fear. And so they commended the courage of Valentinus, but followed the counsell of Auſpex. It is certain that the Treveri and Lingones had the worse audience in France, because in the commotion of Vindex they had sided themselves with Verginius. 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 Law and soveraignty be derived; and if they did conquer which should be the seat of the Empyre. They were not yet conquerours, and yet were they at difcord brawling about the presence, some alleging their treaties and ancient leagues, some their riches and present strength, and some their antiquitie.

Whereupon the whole counsell detecting the future confusion, affirmed and ratified the present estate. Letters also were written unto Treveri in the name of the common counsell of France to desist from armes, whilest pardon might be easily obtained, and many would become sufferers in their behalf if they repented. But Valentinus refused the courteous, and at his returne stopped the ears of his city against this good motion, being a man rather plentifull in orations and speeches; then carefull for other provision of warre.

XXIX. The one and twentieth Legion surnamed Rapax cometh into Germany. Sextilius Felix with his cohortes overthreweth Tutor and the Treveri. Valentinus returning from the Diete stirreth up the warre againe, the two Legions transported from Noveſium and Bonna to Triers departed to the Mediomatrici.

In like manner neither did the Treveri, 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 counsels together. But Civilis wandred about the wildes of Belgium to catch Claudius Labeo, or else to chase him out of the country: Caſticus lay for the most part idle & lazie, and as it were took the fruition of his suppos'd gotten kingdome. Tutor also fled to make himselfe strong upon the upper bank of the river, and with garrison to poseſse the passages and heights of the Alpes, whilest in the meantime the one and twentieth Legion brake in from Vindonifia, and Sextilius Felix, with the Auxiliarie cohorts by the way of Rhoeätia; unto whom a wing of horse-men called Singulares (who marching at the first by Vitellius appointment toward Italy revolted afterward to Vespaſian) adjoyning themselves. Their captaine was Julius Briganticus Civilis; sone, mortally hating his uncle, and hated againe; as commonly the enmities of nearest kinsfolkes, if once they fall out, are most delightfull and deadly. Tutor increased his power consisting of Treveri with a fresh supply of Vangiones, Caracates, and Triboci, and that which added most strength with old experienced Legio

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* Videjus auspicii.*
nary fouldiers, both footmen 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 Romane captaines and armies approched, redeeming their former fault fled over to them, and were followed by the Triboci, Vangiones and Caracates. So Tutor being left alone with his Treveri eschewing Magontiacum fled to Bingium, trusting upon the strength of the place, because he had broken down the bridge of the river Nava: but Sextilius with his cohorts following his footsteps, and finding a forde descried his power, and overthrew it. This discomfite utterly discouraged the Treveri: and the common people casting their weapons away returned to their husbandry. And certaine of the nobility that they might seeme to beforemost in laying hostilitie aside, fled to those cities for refuge which had not broken with the Romanes. The Legions, which, as before we declared, went by commandement from Novefium and Bonna to Trieris, voluntarily resumed the oath to Vespasian. These things were done in the absence of Valentius: who at his returne in a desperate fury 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 Romanes: and Valentinus and Tutor perswaded the Treveri to take up their weapons againe, and go to the field, having first killed Herennius and Numius the Lieutenants, to the intent that being without all hope of pardon, they might be more fartily united together in their wicked conspiracy.

XXX. Petilius Cerealis overthroweth the Treveri, taketh Valentinus alive, adjoyneith the two Legions from the Mediomatrici, and maketh an oration to the Treveri.

This was the state of the war, when Petilius Cerealis came to Magontiacum and by his presence raised great expectation, and hope of our side. Cerealis himselfe was desirous of the battell, and having a better grace sometime to conferrme the enemies, then alwayes to beware them, with lusty courageous words he inflamed his fouldier, as supposing, as soone as he could overtake the enemies without delay to joyn issue in the field. A supply of fouldiers sent out of France he turned home againe, willing them to signifie so much to the rest in his name, that the Roman Legions sufficed for the defence of the Roman Empire: and that all our good friends and allies should returne to their peaceable businesse, without further care, affurrying themselves; that the war, now that the Romanes personally undertook it, was as good as already dispatched. That increased the obedience of the French: for having received their men back againe, they supported more easily all taxes and tributes, and were the more ready to performe all points of their dutie, because they saw their help was not needed. But Civilis and Clafficus, when as they heard of the overthrow of Tutor, the slaughter of the Treveri, and the good success every where of their enemies, all in a fright and haste seeke to unite their dispersed powers, sending messengers in the mean time to Valentinus one after another warning him to take heed to the maine change, and not rashly to venture and hazard the battell. With so much the more expedition Cerealis dispatched to the Mediomatrici, lying neerer upon the enemy, certaine to leade the two Legions thence to affilee them on that side: and assembling all the fouldiers at Magontiacum, and the power which he had brought with him over the mountaines, himselfe marched forward, and at the third remove came to Rigodulum, a place naturally strong by reason of the high sitution, and the river Moella closing it in: where Valentinus
lentinus with a great power of Treveri was incamped; and had made it stronger by
art, casting trenches and ditches about it, and mightie huge stones to hinder the
passage. But these fortifications terrified the Romane captainie nothing at all, but
boldely he bad the footmen breake thorow, and appointed his battell of horsemen
to clime up the mountaine, despiing the enemy, whom he knew to be raw, and un-
skilful in service, and not to have that advantage by the difference of the place, that
himself had by the difference of men. At the going up of the hill some little stay was
made, untill the enemies had spent their arrowes and darts: then coming to handy
strokes, they were driven down headlong, and tumbled one over another, as it were
stones at the fall of a building; and part of the horsemen fetching about by easier a-
fcentes took many of the chiefe nobility of Belgium prifoners and amongst others
Valentinus General that day of the field. The next day Cerealis entred the town of
Triers. The souldiers extremely desirous to raze the city alleging that here Clas-
cificus, here Tutor was borne: here were the men through whole wicked conspiracy
the Legions were besieged and slaine. What had poore Cremona deserved so greatly,
as to be rooted out of the body of Italy because it differed the victory only one
night? Here in the confines of Germany stood the fear-town of rebellion entire, and
triumping with the spoiles, and slaughter of our armies and Generals. As for the
spoile he might at his pleasure dispose of to the Princes behoofe, they could be con-
tented with the burning and ruines of that rebellious colony, to requite thereby in
some part the destruction of so many camps. Cerealis for fear of infamy, if he should
be thought to nuſse his souldiers in licentiousnes and cruelty, reprefed their anger
and they obeyed being become, now they had left off civil war, of more modest be-
aviour also in forain. Then the miserable pitiful spectacle of the Legions, which
came from the Mediomatrici, drew mens minds to the coſideration thereof. Upon
the guilt of their offence they stood with a sad and sorrowfull countenance, crying
their eies down to the ground, no joyful greeting when the armies met nor anſwer-
ing ought to those that sought to encourage and comfort them, but hiding them-
selves in their tents, not abiding to looke on the light: not so much amazed with
danger or fear, as with the shame & discredite. And even the conquerors were afto-
niſhed at the sight, who not daring to speake begged their pardon with silence and
tears, till such time as Cerealis with confortable words revived their spirits; affir-
mimg that those things, which indeed came to passe through the mutinouſſe of
the souldiers, or the diſſention of the leaders, or the malice of the enemies, were but
fattall miſchances, which could not be escaped: and therefore that day they shoul
discount the first both of their service, and oath: their former facts neither the Prince,
nor he would remeber. Then were they received into the fame camp & proclamation
made throughout all the bands, that no man in contention or anger should ob-
ject to any of them their misdeeds or mishaps. Then calling the Treveri & the Le-
gions to an assembly he speake unto them in this wise. I was never praftiſed in the
art of præaching: my profeſſion is arms, & with arms I have made good proue of the
vertue of the Romans. But because words prævalle fo much with you, & I see you
eſteeme good and evill, not by their owne nature, but by the speaches of facious
perſons, I thought it expedient to lay something which now that the warre in a
manner is minifhed may be more behooueful for you to heare, then for us to speake.
The Romans, their Captains and Leaders, entred your countrey, and the rest of
France, not pricked by any desire of theirs, but requested thereto by your prede-
ceffors at what time civill diſfentions had tired & ruined them and the Germans
called in by one fide brought both into thraldome. How many battels we have
fought
fought against the Cimbri and Teutones, what paines our armies have taken, and
with what successe we have handled our selves in the German wars for your sakes, it
is notoriously knowne; neither doe we therefore with so much expence of money
and men guard the Rhene for the safety of Italy, but left some other Ariovistus
should pacifie and conquer the kingdome of France. Or do you think your selves bet-
tter beloved of Civilis & the Batavians, and the Germans over the Rhene, then your
fathers and grandfathers were of their predecessors? the same causes still are remain-
ing, and so will be for ever, to move the Germans to passe into France; to wit, sa-
tistifying of their pleasures and lufts, avarice, and desire of changing seat, that leaving
their mires and deserts, they may take possession of this fruitfull countrie, and you
the inhabitants thereof, yea but liberty and glorious shewes are pretended. Where
was ever any, I pray you, that fought to enthrall or ufurpe over other, but he cloak-
ed his purpsoes with some goodly titles? France never was without petty tyrants
and wars, till ye came under our jurisdiction. We, albeit we have been often pro-
voked, have put that onely as conquerors upon you, whereby peace might be main-
tained. For neither peace can be maintained without armes, nor armes without wa-
ges, nor wages without tribute: all other things are like to us both. You commonly
govern our Legions, you are the Presidents of these and other provincces, no pre-
rogative is kept from you, or referred for us. Againe, they which dwell far off, feel
the commodity alikes of a good prince, wheras tyrants oppress most the nearest. As
you endure and support with patience a barren yeare, if it happen, and unseasoneal
weather, and such other defects of nature; even so tolerate a little and beare with
the riutous life or avarice of governours. Faults will be so long as there be men:
but neither are they continuall, and amends is commonly made by better which
follow. Unlesse peradventure you hope for a more moderate, or easier government
under the reigne of Tutor and Classicus, or that with lesse tribute then now is payd,
armies can be maintaine to hold out the Germans and Britans. For if the Romans,
which the gods defend, should be dispossed, what els can enuie but wars of nation
against nation, and the confusion of the whole world: This frame is the workman-
ship of eight hundreth yeares, good fortune and discipline, which cannot be dis-
folved without the destruction of the dissolvers, but your danger, which have gold
and riches the chiefest causes of war, of all is the greatest. Therefore embrace your
peace, and love that city whereof both you and we are members alike. You have
proved both fortunes: let them be a warning unto you to chuse rather subjection
with safety then rebellion with ruine. With this speech he setled their minds and
lightened their hearts who feared a heavy doome.

XXXI. Civilis and Classicus write to Cerealis.

At the time that the Romane armie was within Triers, Civilis and Classicus
sent letters to Cerealis, the contents were, that Vespasian was dead, although
the Postes concealed the matter: that Rome and Italy were consumed and
wafted with inward warre. As for Mutianus and Domitian they were nothing else,
but vaine names without forces: if Cerealis lift undertake the Empire of France, it
were his best course, and they would not be against it, contenting them selves with
their own cities and confines, or if battell pleased him better, even that they would
not refuse. To these points Cerealis anwetered nothing to them, but sent the mes-
senger that brought the letters, away to Domitian.

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XXXII. Civil-
In the mean season the enemies began to march, and approached on every side in several companies: whom Cerealis permitting to join, was blamed by many for suffering them to unite, with whom he might have fought single, and defeated them easily being divided. The Roman army cast a ditch and trench about their camp, in which they were before unadvisedly lodged without any defence. Among the Captains of the other side there was diversitie of opinions, and the matter debated both ways. Civilis thought it expedient to stay for the Germans coming which dwelt over the Rhine, the terror of which nations would tred under foot the Roman powers: as for the Frenchmen it mattered not much what way they went, being nought else but a prey to the conquerors; and yet the strength of France, the Belgians, had either openly declared for them, or at least secretly wish'd them well. Contrarily Tutor affirmed, that by delay the Romans would grow and increase, so many whole hosts coming in from every side, one Legion being already transported out of Britain, others sent for out of Spain, and many Legions at hand out of Italy, not of raw soldiers, but old and well expert in war: as for the Germans they looked for, what were they else but a kind of unprofitable troubles of a camp, out of all awe and obedience to superiors, that would not be commanded nor ruled, but do all as they listed themselves? Now for money and gifts, the only means to corrupt the Germans, the Romans had more abundance, and no man was so hasty to fight, but would rather choose quietness than danger with the same hire. Whereas if they would presently fight, Cerealis had no other Legions as yet, but only the remnants of the German army entangled with an oath to the Empire of France. And moreover this their late unlooked for success against Valentinus, & his rude untrained company, would be a baite unto the and their General to further rashness, and therefore they would without doubt venture again, and so fall into the hands not of an unskilfull youth, better feene in words and babble, then arms and military feats, but of Civilis and Claficus; at the very sight of whom the enemies would tremble, calling to remembrance their former feares, and flights, and famines, and how oft they had been taken and pardoned their lives. Neither doe the Treveri and Lingones keep in with the Romans now upon love and good will, but for feare: which take ye away and they will resume their weapons againe. Claficus approving the opinion of Tutor decided the controverse, & forthwith they proceed to execution. The middle battell was assign'd to the Ubii and Lingones, on the right side stood the Batavian cohorts, on the left the Brucheri and Tenceri: in this array partly from the mountains and parts between the way and the river Mosella they affailed our army so suddenly, that Cerealis, lying abroad that night out of the camp, had word brought to his chamber and bed all at one instant, that the battell was begun, and his men overthrown rating at the first their daftardliness that brought in the newes, untill with his owne eyes he saw the whole meffage clearly confirmed, the camp of the Legions broken up & entered into, the horsemen defeated, the bridge over Mosella in the midst of the town possessed by the enemy. In which confusion Cerealis behaving himselfe without all feare, with his owne hands drew back them which fled away, and manfully, albeit unarmed among so many weapons, with his fortunate rashness, and assistance of some valiant soldiers coming in, recovered the bridge, and
of Cornelius Tacitus.

left a chosen company of men to guard it. Then returning to the camp he found the bands of the Legions, which were taken at Bonna and Novesium, disbanded and scattered, few soldiers at their ensigns, and the standards almost circumvented.

"Whereupon being full of indignation and wrath, You forsake not (quoth he) Hor- 

deonius or Voclum, you can allege no falsehood or treason in me: neither ever 
"did I commit any act that needed excuse, save onely in affirming you had forgot 
"ten your oath to France and remembred your allegiance to the Roman Empire, 
"I shall, and so am contented to be numbered with Numius and Herennius, that all 
"your Lieutenants may be said to have died either by the hands of their own foul- 

diers or else of the enemy. Go tell Vespasian, or which is neerer Civilis and Claﬃ- 
cus, that you have left your Generall in the field: Legions shortly will come, doubt 
"ye not, which shal neither suffer me to be long unreveded, nor you unpuniﬁed. 

The accusation was true, and the Captaines and Tribunes spake, and urged to the 
same purpoſe. So they railed and made head by cohorts and bands, for the whole 
battell could not be displeased, partly because the enemy was upon them, and partly 
by reaſon of their tents and stiﬀe, which hindered them greatly fighting within the 
trenches. Tutor and Claﬃcus and Civilis each in their severall quarters animated 
their men to fight, the Frenchmen for liberty, the Batavians for glory, and the 
Germans for spoile, and all went with the enemy till the one and twentieth Legion 
knitting together in a more open place then the rest, valiantly received the advan- 
faries charge; and recharging by and by drave them from their ground. It was not 
without the spea hours help of the gods, that our enemies being victorious suddenly 
altered their minds, and turned their backs. They affirmed afterward the fight 
of the cohorts terrifyed them, which at the ﬁrst joyning being defeated, united a- 
-gaine in the hill tops, and seemed a new supply in their ﬁght. But indeed the chiefe 
impediment of their victorie was, that they left off to deal with the enemy, and 
quarrelled foolishly among themselves for the spoile. Cerealis as he had almost undone 
all by negligence, to by diligence and constancy he recovered it againe, and 
following his fortune took the fame day, and razed the enemies campe.

He souldier without any long intermiſsion was straight waies called to a new 
service. They of Coleyn requested their helpe, and offered to surrender the 
wife and sifter of Civilis, and the daughter of Claﬃcus, which were left with 
them as pledges of mutuall amity, and in the mean season flew the Germans which 
lay dispersed in their towne: whereupon growing into extreme feare they had just 
caufe to cry for aide before the enemies gathering new strength should resume cou- 
rage, or prosecute the revenge. For Civilis also purpoſed thitherward, beside other 
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competent forces, upon confidence principally of his most courageous cohort composed of Chauci and Frisii, which was not present in the overthrow, and lay at Tolbiacum in the territory of Coleyn, but he was diverted from that determination by a sorrowfull message, that the cohort was massacred by the fraud of the Agrippinenses, who when the Germanes had filled themselves with wine and good cheere, and so were laied to sleepe, shut up the dooares, put fire to their lodging, and burned them alive: and withall Cerealis was come himselfe with speed to relieve them. Moreover another feare troubled Civilis minde not a little, left the fourteenth Legion together with the navy of Britainy should wafte and spoile the Batavian border that lyeth upon the Ocean. But Fabius Priscus the Lieutenant, having crossed the seas at the shortest cut, led forth the Legions by land into the coasts of the Nervii and Tungri, and those countries yeelded themselves to the Romans. As for the navy, the Caninefates venterously made out against it, and took or sunk the greater part of the ships: and the same Caninefates defeated a multitude of the Nervii, voluntarily gathered together to fight in favor of the Romans. Clafficus also against certaine horfemen, which Cerealis bent before to Novesium, skirmished prosperously. Which small but often losses did dimme and diminish the glory of the victory lately obtained.

XXXIII. The sonne of Vitellius is slaine. Antonius Primus discontented saileth from Rome to Vespasian lying at Alexandria.

About the same time Mutianus commanded the sonne of Vitellius to be slain, pretending that a perfect union could not grow, unlesse all seeds of warre were utterly rooted out. Moreover he would not permit that Antonius Primus should be affumed into Domitian's traine in the voyage of France, having him in jealouſie, by reason of the fouldiers love towards him, and because of the mans hauty proud nature, who could not abide any equal, much leſs a superior. So Antonius mal-content went to Vespasian, who received and entertained him in good sort, albeit not according to his expectation. The merits of the man, by whose conduct double the war was conſummate and ended, driſtacted him one way, and Mutianus letters another: and withall the rest put forward, inveying againſt him as an inſolent and intolerable person, joyning thereto the faults of his former life. And he for his part by his arrogant behaviour caeſed not to provoke displeausure, obiously inculcating at every word, what things he had done, and how greatly he had deſerved of the caufe, despising the reft as men of no service in war, and Cæcina as a diſhonoured captive, and yeelded perſon. 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 whilst Vespasian staid at Alexandria attending for a good winde, and a seasonable time of the yeare.

In those moneths which Vespasian staid at Alexandria, attending the ordinary summer windes, and a sure seacon by sea, many miracles happened, whereby the speciall favour of the gods and their good will towards Vespasian was evidently signified. A certaine poore blinde man of Alexandria, knowne in all the townes
of Cornelius Tacitus.

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towne by reason of his infirmity, warned by the god Serapis, whom that superstitious nation adores above other gods, fell downe at the feete of Vespasian, and humbly besought him with tears to remedy his blindness, praying him to vouchsaf e with the pittance of his mouth to wet his eyes round about. Another lame of a hand, by the commandement of the same god, prayed Vespasian that it would please him to tread upon him with his foot. Vespasian at the first scorned and rejected their suits. But when they persisted still iniant upon him, he began to doubt with himselfe, fearing on the one fide discredit, and opinion of vanity, on the other up on the importunate necessity of the dis eased, and speeches of flatterers, entreing into some hope, at the last he willed the Physicians to consider, whether such blindness and lameness were possible by humane helpe to be cured. The Physicians according to their custome disputed the point diversely; discoursing out of their learning; that it might be, the blinde mans eyes were not perforred, but onely overgrown with some skinne, which being removed, the sight would returne: likewise the other mans limbs were dislocated, and might with force conveniently used be set right again; and perchance it is the pleasure of the gods to reforme them to health, and to chuse the Prince for the means of performing the fame. Finally if the remedy had good succeffe, the glory would redound to the Prince that did it: if not, the scorne should light upon the poore patients that importuned him. Whereupon Vespasian supposing all things feasable to his good fortune, and nothing now incredible, stepped forth with a merry countenance, and in the presence of a great multitude, that stood by attending the event, did as they had defined him to do, and presently the lame recovered the uſe of his limbs, and the blinde of his eyes. They which were present at both affirme both to be true, even now at this time when nothing is gotten by lying. Then Vespasian became more desirous to visit the sacred seat of the god, and there to ask counsel concerning the affairs of the Empire; and commanding all to avoide, he entered into the temple, and as he was busie about his devotion suddenly he saw before his back, as he thought, one of the noble men of Egypt named Basilides, whom he knew to be sick in his bed, many daies journey from Alexandria. Then he enquired of the Priests whether Basilides that day had entered the church and of others whom he met whether he had beene seene in the city or no: at the last sending horsemen of purpose to see, he found at the same moment Basilides was not seene then fourscore miles off: then he perceived it was a divine vision, and out of the name of Basilides derived an answer. The original of this god hath not hitherto beene declared by any of our writers. The Egyptian Priests doe report the history thus: that Ptoleme the king, who first of the Macedonians ordered the kingeomde of Egypt, when he had walled the lately built city of Alexandria, erected temples, & instituted religious rites, saw in his slepe a faire goodly young man much taller then the ordinary stature, who warned him to send into Pontus of his most trufty friends, and fetch thence his image; that it would bring great prosperity to the whole kingdom, and that place would especially flourish where the image should be received: and straightwaies the young man seemed to be carried up into heaven out of his sight in an great flame of fire. Ptoleme moved with so great and prodigious a miracle, declared his vision to the Egyptian Priests: who were so great to interpret such things. But when he saw them utterly ignorant of Pontus and forraine matters, he asked Timotheus an Athenian one of the Eumolpide, whom he had sent for from Eleusis to have the chief government of matters of religion, what devotion or what god that might be? Timotheus, conferring with some which had travelled in Pon-
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In those days, it was understood that there was a city called Sinope, and near unto it a temple of ancient name among the inhabitants dedicated to Pluto: for there flowed by it the image of a woman commonly called Proserpina. But Ptolemeus, as the usual manner of kings is at the first prone to fear, and quickly returning to former security, as being more addicted to pleasures than to devotions, neglected the matter and cast his cares elsewhere, until the same vision appeared in more terrible and vehement manner, denouncing destruction peremptorily to him and his kingdom, if he performed not his commandments. Then Ptolemeus sent an embassy with presents to Scydrus the king of Sinope, willing them at their departure to goe by Delphos and ask counsel of Apollo. Their journey by sea was prosperous, and Apollo answered without ambiguity, namely that they should goe forward, and bring with them away his fathers image, but leave his sisters. When they came to Sinope, after they had presented their gift to Scydrus, they declared at large their commission and what the king their matter requested at his hands. Scydrus was doubtful in mind: sometimes he feared the wrathful displeasure of the god, sometimes the threats of his subjects, who were utterly against the granting of it, and sometimes he had a favorable respect to the presents and promises of the Embassadors. And so three years being spent in this negotiation, Ptolemeus notwithstanding continued an earnest fater sending more honourable Embassadors, more ships, and more stores of gold. At the last a fearful and threatening vision appeared to Scydrus, charging him no longer to hinder that, which the god had determined: and as notwithstanding he protracted, many mischiefs befell him, and divers diseases, and the manifest wrath of the gods vexed him daily more and more. Then calling an assembly of all the people he declared unto them the will of the god, his owne and Ptolemes visions, and also the mischieves which otherwise hung over their heads. The common people withstood the motion, envying at Egypt, and fearing their own state, and so beclet the temple about: whereupon a strong report goth, that the god without hands conveyed himself into the ships, which lay there at anchor: and which is marvellous to be reported, flying from thence thow to vast seas, they arrived the third day at Alexandria. So a temple was built answerable to the magnificence of the city in a place called Rhacotis, where had been a chappell of ancient time consecrated to Sarapis and Isis. And this is the most famous opinion concerning the original of the god and his transportation. I know that some hold he was brought from Seleucia a city of Syria, in the reign of Ptolemeus the third; others that the same Ptolemeus was the transporter, but it was from Memphis a famous city, in ancient times the glory and strength of old Egypt. The god himselfe many suppose to be Asculapius because he cureth diseases; some Ofiris the olddest god knowne of those nations; many Jupiter, as sovereign lord over all; most Pluto, by notes that manifestly appeare in him, or otherwise by collection gathering arguments of their conjecture.

The ordinary summer winde. Statas effluvis flatus dies et cotta mavis opprimens. Cotta mavis are from the fifteenth of September to the fourteenth of October: from the fourteenth of September to the fourteenth of October Navigatio, sed incerta; from the fourteenth of November to the tenth of March Incerta; and from thence to the fourteenth of May Navigatio primaria. So that Velasion is in May frame, set nor put before the latter end of May. Joseph. a. thái: cap. 4. de obj. pons (Communica) de ibi Plut. Aug. Vesp. 4. Thas. Inflaginum sed incerto ad Rome at the end of summer. Now whereas some learned men for flatus effluvis flatus dies, read: flatus Estius flatus dies. This is an oversight. Estius are contrary winde to the course. Tac. a. hist. and Cæsar. 3. de bello civil.: ibe neeflagin Estius ventator, qui Alexandri navem sustinat: ede fijmum versus: and to stay till they were past, that is till the latter end of August, were to stay very near the termes of incerta navigatio, and be free of incertissima before he could come home.

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 news of the prosperous battell against the Treveri: and for a sure proofe of the victory Valentinus the General of the enemies was withall delivered into their hands, who in his adversity retained his former courage, declaring in countenance what stomach once he had borne. He was permitted to speake for himselfe, onely that his nature and gifts might be seene, and so adjudged to die. At his execution one upbraided unto him that his country was taken, then shall I die, quoth he, with greater contentment. Then Mutianus cunningly induced speech as 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 unseemely for Domitian now that the warre was almost at an end, to intercept the glory of another mans travels: if the case stood so that the state of the Empire or safety of France were in danger, it were requisite that the Princes should stand in the field: but to fight against the Caninefates and Batavians would be committed to commanders of lower degree, he himselfe should stay at Lions, and from thence in a reasonable distance make shew 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 art 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 prove his loyalty, 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 himselfe against his brother when the time should serve, it is not certainly knowne: for Cerealis with good and discreet answer shifted off this fond and childish request. Domitian perceiving his youth contemned of the elder men, ceased from medling any more in affaires of estate, even of the meaner sort, and such as before usually posseth throrow his hands: withall, under colour of simplicity and modesty, sequestring himselfe to a close and solitary kind of life, pretending desire of learning and love of poetry, thereby to cover his disposition, and avoid all emulation and cause of unkindnesse with his brother, whose unlike and farre more courteous nature he construed contrarily.
O report and deliver to posterity the doings and demeanours of excellent personages, a thing usual in ancient times, even our age, though carelessly otherwise of her own, hath not omitted then and oft when as any great and eminent vertue hath overgrown two vices, to little and great common wealths common alike, ignorance of that which is good, and envying at it. But in the daies of our anceftors as it was far more easie and open to atchieve actions worthy of writing, so likewise their finest wits, without favour or flattery, upon an upright conscience, without other reward, were led to record and chronicle the fame: yea divers upon confidence of their owne proceedings have thought it no presumption to fer downe in writing themselves their owne lives. Neither were Rutilius and Scaurus a whit more misliked, or leffe beleaved for that: so certaine it is, that vertues are then valued most rightly, when as they do grow in most plenty. But now it fareth with me farre otherwise: who having here to describe the life of a man already deceased, am first of force to beg pardon; a thing which indeed I would have forbore, were I not to meet and fall in with a time so terrible, so capitall an enemy to vertue and honour. We reade that Aurelius Rusticus for praiing Patux Thræas, and Herennius Senecio for commending Helvidius Præclus were both put to death: and besides the writers against the bookes also severity was used, charge being given from authoritie to the Triumviri, that the works of those noble wits shoule be in the market place solemnly burned. Belike they supposed they could with that fire quench the speech of the people of Rome, abolish the libertie of the Senate, & suppress the common knowledge of whole mankind; expelling withall the professors of wisdome, and banishing all good learning and Arts, left any sparkle of honesty should by mischance remaine within view. For certain we gave great proffee of our patience, and as our anceftours attained and saw the highest pitch and perfection of libertie, so of servility, being deprived by intelligencers and spies of the commerce of hearing and speaking together: yea memory also, as well as tongue 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 Nerva, straight at the first entry of his most happy age, hath wisely matched and mixed together two things heretofore insconciable, the soveraignty of one with the libertie of all; and Trajan his sonne proceeding in the same train, maketh the Empire daily more supportable and easie: so that not onely we may hope and conceive prayers for the publick securitie, but see and touch the effect of our praiers affured and confirmed unto us: yet notwithstanding by proffee it is found (such is the nature of mans imbecillity) the remedies to be flower of operation, then were the diseases. And as our bodies wax and gather strengthe by leisure, perish in a moment; so good wits and good learning are sooner cut downe then raised againe. For the sweetneffe and pleasing of idlenesse, and of doing nothing, creepeth into our fensës: and sloathfulnesse which at the first we detested, by cuftome obtaineth our favour and love: to omit
omit that in fourtene years a great part of man's age, many have been wafted by casual chances, the most sufficient and forward by the cruelty of the Prince, a few of us only remaining that have overlived, as I may say, not only ourselves, having so many years subdued 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 compone, though in rude and unframed speech, a memory of our late thraldome, and a testimonie of our present felicities. In the mean while this treatise I have specially vowed to the honour of Agricola my father in law; and therefore as being in discharge of duties, and carrying profession of kindnesse, I shall either abroad purchase praise, or be covered at least with some courteoue excuse.

1. The ignorance of that which is good, and envying at it. As small objects of weak eye, so small vertues are not conceived of common capacities; but as there, a certain quantitative and qualitative is requisite, before the dullennes may be perceived; so here, before the vulgar conceit. Now afoone as vertue is grown out of ignorance, the entrench by and into envy, till mounting aloft, as the funne being verticall all shadowes, so in the top and height of perfection, all envy.

2. Am full of force to beg pardon. Belike then he stood in some feare. And for what? Of falling in with those false and in folle veritates temporis, under Domitian, but he wrote this treatise in Traians time, in bu attinuimus foculis, as he determineth it; and I see no sufficient cause, the times being false wherein he wrote, to the times whereof he wrote: nor of that which followeth, We read that Arulenus Ruficicus, &c. being things to falsely done, and all in his memory, and as it may seeme, in his sight. For he saith himselfe the end of his book. No. Maturius, Ruficicus

3. Thraſea. Put to death by Nero quia iutum jam esse (dum evidenter concipiant, faith Tacitus; Helvidius Priscus by Vetulian for having no better the good government was given him by Epios Marcellus in the Senate some years before, and recorded by Tacitus in their words. Suaedere eum Prisco, we signify principem candidarem, ne Praetorium factum triunphalem, juratum liberum parieti præcessit conceptum. Quaemod appetatis imperatoribus sine fuma suctione, sic quo imperatoribus in manus, sic magni imperatoribus medio libertatis placeat.

4. Against the books also. Cithene king of the Sicioniens purposing to make war against the Argivi, forbade the vetyres of Honor to be read or sung in the city, because they contained almost every where commendation of Argos the Argivi; widely foreseeing what great alteration a poem so sweetly indited might workes in the minds of his subiects, even against the good of the state and the Romans likewise among all instruments of innovation seeming none sifter to work trouble in a settled state, then by way of libels and books to sow seeds of sedition; and novelty, appointed the AEduis and Triumvir capitales to forsethe that no prejudice should grow to the common wealth by that means. In the second punick war, new religions being brought in by means of certaine books of prophetic, faith Livy, Incisur graeser ab ienua Aediles, Triunvirique capes ale, quod non prohiberet. And as in this place of Tacitus the Triumvir had the charge, so in another the solemn place of this execution was done, a Poem of Romaines, Liv, Lib. 40. Obiis Nume de iure Pontificium comitio, iegra etiam lesatores, but of Thrassea.

5. The profecurs of wifdome. Suetonius Domitian. In Tact. 4, Ann. 185. Domitian was put to death by otheres, and recorded by Tacitus in these words. Saedere enim Priaco, we signify principem candidarem, ne Prisco praebamshum, juratum liberum parieti præcessit conceptum. Quaemod appetatis imperatoribus sine fuma suctione, sic quo imperatoribus in manus, sic magni imperatoribus medio libertatis placeat.
exercise of all good qualities and arts. And beside his owne disposition clearly and wholly given to good, it was a good means to withhold him from the allurements of vice, that he happened to have the town of Maelfilia for the place of his first abode and study in youth, a city compounded of Greek civility and provincial frugality well forsted together. I have heard him say, I remember, that being young he had addicted himself to the study of philosophie in earnest fort, and beyond the measure of a Roman and Senator, had not the wisdom of his mother corrected and cooled of that heat of humour. That noble and haughty minde of his was carried to embrace with more fervency then discretion, the beauty and gay fiew of that high and glorious profession: but reason anon and riper years reformed his judgement: and so he retained a point moft hard to be kept, of wisdome a mean.

His first service in war was in Brittany under Suetonius Paulinus; into whose train being assumed he was of that diligent discreet leader well liked: not spending the time in riot after the manner of youths, which convert warfare into wantonne; nor accepting the title of tribunehip without skill in the service, as a calling of ease for pleasure and gadding abroad, but wholly directing his mind to know the province, to be knowne to the army, to learne of the skifull, to follow the best, to define no employment upon vain glory, to refuse none for feare, joyntly to shew himselfe both carefull and earnest in action. Neither did our affairs in Britanny stand at any time in the like terms of doubt and distruste: our old fouldiers were fain, our colonies burned, our armies entrapped, then we fought for to live, afterward for to win. All which exploits, though performed by the counsel and conduct of another, and conqueintly the credit of the caufe, and glory of recovering the country appertaining to the Lieutenant, yet were they occasions to increafe in the young mans skill, experience, and desire of military renowne, a qualitie not fo acceptable in those reasones, wherein great vertues were greatly suspected, and a great fame endangered more then a bad.

From Brittany departing to Rome to bear offices, he joynd himselfe in matrimony with Domitia Decidiana, a woman of honourable birth: which marriage was a countenance, and a strength to his further purpose: and they lived together in marvellous unity with mutual love, and yeelding preeminence the one to the other; a point otherwise not greatly material, saving that a good wife is a great commendation, as well as an ill reproach. Being Qeestor his forst fell in Asia with Salvius Titianus the Proconfull. Neither was he withdrawne by that means from his wonted integrity, although both the province was rich and readily minftrid matter to offend, and his Proconfull a man of infaftible greedinesse would with any remifnesse willingly have redeemed at his hand mutual connivence and covering of faults. There his wife bare him a daughter both to his stay and his comfort, for the fon he brought him before was already deceased having lived but a little. After his Qeestorship till he was created Tribune of the people, and the year also of his Tribuneship he passed over in rest and quietnesse, well weighing the nature of Neroes time wherein sloth was a vertue, and to do nothing the greatest wisdome of all. His Presidenthip also he passed over in the same fort, with the like silence: for none of the judicail places hapned unto him. The plates and vanities of the office he governed and executed by the rule of reason and measure of wealth: far from excessive, and yet not without magnificence and honour. Anon afterward being elected by Galba to view and survey the jewels and gifts belonging to the temples, by most diligent and strict search he procured full restitution of all faire onely of those which Nero had taken.

The
The yeere following wounded his minde, & plunged his house in a heavy mischipt. For "Othoes fleet roving at large licentiously, in waiting Intemelium a part of Liguria, flew the mother of Agricola in her own grounds, spoiled the grounds, & carried away moit part of the wealth which was the caufe of the murder. As Agricola went to solemnize the funerals he received advice, that Vespasian was in armes for the Empire, and without more advise joyned himselfe to the side. Domitian as yet was but yong, & challenged not, as an Emperors son, any thing else faire only licentious life. The affaires of the Empire and state of the city were governed at the beginning, and wholly directed by Mutianus alone. By commission from whom Agricola being sent to take Mutfers, and behaving himselfe in that charge with great integrity and courage, he was by the fame Mutianus, upon message received of the seditious demeanor of Rufcius Coelius made in his place Lieutenant of the twentieth Legion, a Legion which flowly had sworn to Vespasian, and was out of awe, or awed much rather even the Lieutenants generall, much leffe was the Legions Lieutenant of power to refrain them, whether through the weaknesse of his own arme, or hard mouth of his soldiers, it is not sured. Thus being elected both to succeed and revenge, he shewed an example of most rare moderation, in chusing to seeme rather to have found, then to have made, them dutifull soldiours. At that time Vetchius Bolanus was Lieutenant of Britanny, governing in a gentler and milder manner, then was fit for a country. Under him Agricola cunningly conforming himself to that humour, and not unlearned to joyn profitable counsels with honesty, tempered the heat of his nature, & restrained from growing his hautie desires. Soon after Petlius Cerealis was appointed Lieutenant generall there, under whom the vertues of Agricola had a large field and free scope to shew themselves in. For Cerealis communicat and imparted unto him, first himself and his counsels, then actions of labour and danger, and lastly glory also; committing oftentimes for a proof 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 himself, but humbly always as a minister referred to his superior, and Generall, the good fortune and honour of all his exploits. So by his vertue invaluably doing his charge, and his modesty in sparingly speaking thereof, he was without envy, but not without glory. Upon his return from the Lieutenantship of the Legion, Vespasian of scred memory elected him into the company of the Patritians, and afterward sent him Lieutenant generall into Aquitania, an honourable room, both in respect of the office it selfe, and as being a way to the Consulship by the Prince purposed unto him. The received opinion is, that military wits are not refined to that sharpness and subtletie, that is practisfed in Pleas and Courts of justice, because the martial law is but gross and blunt, executing most by the hand: notwithstanding Agricola, though brought up in the field, upon a naturall wit and discourse of reason, among those peaceable men, carried himselfe easily with great uprightness and justice. Now the seasons of affaires and vacations he divided difcreetly and well: in times of audience and judgements grave, heedfull, afftere, and yet mercifull too: that dutie performed, no face any more or new of authoritie: forre looks and flately, frait and hard dealing were laid apart: in such fort, that neither his gentle nor courteous behaviour weakened the reverence due to his person, nor his severitie the love: a thing rarely to be seen. To speake of integritie, and forbearing of bribery in so great a personage, were a wrong to his vertues: even glory, upon which good men also oftentimes dote, he never affected by ostentation of vertue, or by artificiall means: farre from emulation with his colleagues, farre from contention.
convention with the Procurators; whom to overcome he deemed no honour, and
to be overcome a sole shame. In that Lieutenantship having spent scarcely three
yeares, he was called home to be Consull, the opinion going also, that Britanny
should be assigned him, without any speech given out by himself to that purpose,
but because he seemed sufficient and meet: fame faileth not always, sometime the
chuseth right. Being Consull he assured to me his daughter, even then of rare
hopes, and after his Consullship solemnized the marriage: and straight thereupon
was made Governor of Britanny, having besides a Pontificall dignitie annexed.

The life of Julius Agricola, described by sundry writers, I purpose here
to declare, not to compare in fineness or wit, but because it was then first throrowly
subdued: so that such things, as our elders without perfect discovery, have polisht
with pen, shall now be set faithfully down upon knowledge. Britanny, of all Islands
known to the Romans the greatest, coafteth by East upon Germany, by West to-
ward Spaine, and hath France on the South: Northward no land lying against it,
but only a vast and broad sea beating about it. The figure and fashion of whole Brit-
anny, by Livy of the ancient, & Fabius Rusticus of the modern, the most eloquent
authors, is likened to a long dih or two edged axe, and so is the part happen of
this side Caledonia, where upon 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
furthestmost point, growing narrow and sharpe like a wedge. This point of the
most sea the Romane fleet then first of all doubting discovered Britanny to be an
Island, and withall found out and subdued the Isles of <i>Orcney</i> before that time ne-
ever known. Thyle also was lookt at alooe, which snow hitherdo and winter had
covered. The sea thereabout they affhirme to be dull and heavy for the oare and
not to be raised as others with winds: belike because land and mountaines are rare,
which minifter cause and matter of tempests, and because a deep masse of contin-
ual sea is flower stirred to rage. To examine the nature of the Ocean, and tides,
per-taineth not to this worke, and many have done it before: one thing I will add, and
may safely avouch, that the sea no where in the world rangest and ruleth more freely,
carrying by violence so much river water hither and thither, and is not content
to flow and to ebe so far as the banks, but inferteth & windeith it self into the land,
shooting into the mountains and cliffes as to his own channell. Now what manner of
men the first inhabitants of Britanny were, foraine brought in, or borne in the
land, as among a barbarous people, it is not certainly knowne. Their complexion
are different, and thence may some conjectures be taken: for the red haire of the
dwellers in <i>Caledonia</i>, and mightie limbs import a German descent: the
coloured countenances of the Silures, and haire most commonly curled, and aire a-
gainst Spaine, seeme to induceth, that the old Spaniards passe the Sea and possest
those places. The neereft to France likewise resemble the French, either because
they retaine of the race from which they descendd, or that in countries butting to-
gather the same aspects of the heavens doe yeeld the same complexiones of bodies.
But generally it is most likely the French being neerest did people the land. In their
ceremonies and superf fictious perfusions, there is to be seen an apparent confor-
mite: the language differeth not much: like boldneffe to challenge and set into
dangers: when dangers are come, like feare in refusing: sayng 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 giving themselves over to
peace and idlenesse cowardifie crept in, and shipwrecke was made both of manhood
and libertie together: and so it is also befalne to those of the Britans which were
subdued.
written by Cornelius Tacitus.

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written by Cornelius Tacitus.

The first of the Romanes which entered Britanny with an army was Julius Caesar, who although he terrified the inhabitants with a battle which went on his side, and gained the shore, yet may seem rather to have shewed the place to posterity, then delivered them to the possession thereof.

Then civil wars ensued, and bandings of men of great quality against the free state, and long after that lay Britanny forgotten, even in peaceable times. Augustus, having made it a policy, and chiefly Tiberius, that Caius had a meaning to invade Britanny, it is certainly knowne: but his rash running head and hasty repentance, and chiefly his great attempts against Germany turning to nothing, everted that purpose.

Claudius did first with effect prosecute the matter, transporting Legions and Aydes, and affumin Vespasian into the action, which was the beginning of the greatest whereunto he after attained: some countreys were subdued, some kings were taken, and Vespasian made known to the world.

The first Lieutenant General was Aulus Plautius, then Ostorius Scapula, both excellent warriors: and so by little and little was the nearest part of the Iland reduced to the forme of a province; and besides a colony of old soildiers established there. Certaine cities were also bestowed in pure gift upon king Cogidubnus (who remained most faithfull even to our daies) according to an old custome anciently received of the Romanes to use even kings themselves for instruments of bondage.

Then Didius Gallus succeeded in place, who kept that which his predecessors R 2 had
The life of Julius Agricola,

had gotten, and builded some few castles further in the land, to win by that means a fame of augmenting the office.

After Didius succeeded Verantius, who died within one yeere.

Then Suetonius Paullinus for two yeeres space behaved himselfe fortunately, subduing the nations and establishing garrisons. Upon confidence whereof going to affail the Ille of Mona, which miniseter supply to the rebels, he disfurnished the countrye behinde, and laid it open to all opportunities of the enemy. For through the absence of the Lieutenant, the Britans free of feare began to discourse the merieies of bondage, to lay their injuries together, and aggravate them by construc- tions. That their patience had profitted them nothing, save onely to draw heavier burdens upon them, as men that would gently beare. That whereas in former times they had onely one king, now were there two twovth upon them, the Lieutenant to sucke their bloud, the Procurator their substance: whose disagreeing was the torment of the subjects, their agreement their undoing: the one vexing by fouldiers and captains, the other by wrongs and indignities. That now their covetous seffe and luft layed hold, without exception, of all: and whereas in field he that spoyleth is commonly stronger, now were they by cowards and weaklings for the most part disposed of their houfes, bereate of their children, enjoin'd to yeeld fouldiers for other mens behoofe, as though they were men, that knew how to do nothing else, save onely to die for their own countrey. For otherwise what a small handfull of fouldiers were come ever, if the Britans would fall to reckon themselves? that Germany so had shak't off the yoke, having no Ocean sea, but only a river, for their defence. That their cauases of taking arms were urgent and juyt, their wives and children, their parents, and countrey, whereas the Romans had nothing to move them to warre, but their own covetous seffe and wanton luft: and that they would doublely depart, as Cæsar Julius had done, if the Britans would imitate the vertues of their progenitours, and not be dismayed with the doubtfull event of one skirmish or two. That men in mifery had more courage and vehemency to attempt, more confancy to continue: and now even the gods seeme to pite the poore Britans estate, having sent the Romane Captain out of the way, and confined the army, as it were, into another island. That now being assembled to advise 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, then consulting, doing. With these and the like speeches inciting one another, by common content they resOLVE TO TAKE ARMES UNDER THE CONDUCT OF Voadicaa, Lady of the bloud of their Kings: for in matter of governing inchiefe they make no distinction of sexe. And first pursing the fouldiers which lay divided in garrisons, and winning the forts, they invaded ane the Colony it self, as being the seat of their slavery: in falling whereof no kinde of crueltie was omitted, which either anger or the rage of victo- rymight induce a barbarous people to practifie. And unlesse upon knowledge had of the revolt Paulinus had come to succour with speed, Britanny had then been lost, the which with one prosperous battell he restor'd 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 fear also of the Lieutenants private displeasure: who though otherwise a singular man, yet seeme to shew too much hautie and hard dealing toward those which yeelded themselves, and to revenge in a fort his own injury. Whereupon Petronius Turpilianus was fent in his place as a more intreatable perfon, and a stranger to their faults, and therefore more ready to receive their repentance: who having compos'd the former troubles, and daring no further, delivered Trebellius Maximus the charge.

*Trebellius
Trebellius a man unfit for action, and altogether unexpert in service, by a kind of courteous & milde regiment intretained the country in quiet. For now the Britans also had learned good manners, not rudeely to repulse the lured affaults & flatterings of vices; and the disturbance of civill disfensions ministred a lawfull excuse for his doing nothing. But the fouldier accustomed to warfare, watz wanton with ease, and grew to be mutinous. Trebellius by flying away and hiding himselfe eschewed their first indignation, and anon refuming his place without majestie,without our authority, he ruled by way of intreatie, and at his fouldiers discretion: and so coming as it were to a capitulation, the army for licence to do what them listted, the Captain for safetie of his own life, the mutiny ended without any bloodshed.

Vetricius Bolanus succeeded in place, and in the same loosenesse of discipline, the civill warres continuing still, like default against the enemy, like licence in the camp, saving that Bolanus, a good honet man, not odious for any crime, in stead of obedience had gotten good will.

But when as Vespasian with the rest of the world recovered Britanny also, great Captains, good fouldiers were sent, and the hope of the enemy was greatly abated. For straightwaies Petilius Cerealis strooke a terror into them, by invading upon his first entry the Brigantes, the most populous state of the whole province. Many battels were fought, and some bloody, and the greatest part of the Brigantes either conquered or waitted.

And whereas Cerealis would doubteffe have dimmed the diligence and fame of another succesour, Julius Frontinus a great man, as he might after that predecesser, sutfained the charge with reputation and credit, subduing the puissant and warlike people of the Sylures: where he had, before the virtue of the enemy, to struggle with the frats and difficult places.

In this estate Agricola found the province, and the warres thus farre proceeded in, when as about the middest of the summer he passed the seas: at what time the fouldier, as if the seacome were past, attendeth an end for that yeare of his travell, and the enemy a beginning to hurt. The Ordovices a little before he entred the land, had cut a wing almoft wholly in pieces, which lay in their borders. Upon which beginning the countrey being awaked, as men defirous of warre, allowed the example: some stayed to see how the new Lieutenant would take it. Agricola although the summer was spelt, and the bands lay dispersed in the Province, and his fouldiers had fully presumed of rest for that yeere, which hindered much and crossed directly the undertakings of warre, divers alio being of opinion rather to keeppe and afurse the places suspected, all this notwithstanding he resolveth directly to encounter the danger: and gathering the enigne of the Legions, and some few Auxiliaries, because the Ordovices durst not descend into indifferent ground, himselfe first of all, to give others like courage in the like danger, led up to encounter the enemy. And having destroyed almoast the whole nation, knowing right well that fame mutt with inçantce be followed, and as the first should fall out, so the rest would succeede, he deliberated to conquer the Island of Mona: from the possession whereof, as before I have reheard, Paullinus was revoked by the generall rebellion of Britanny: but as in a purpose not purposed before, ships being wanting, the policie and resoluteness of the Captaine devised a passage, commanding the most choice of the Aydes, to whom all the hallows were know, and who after the use of their countrey were able in swimming to govern themselves with armour and horses, laying aside their carriage, to put over at once and suddenly invade them. Which thing so amazed the enemy attending for ships and such like provision by sea that
The life of Julius Agricola,

...surely believing nothing could be hard or invincible to men which came so minded to warre, they humbly intreated for peace and yeelded the Island. Thus Agricola at his first entry into his Province (which time others consume in vaine observation or ambitious seeking of ceremonies) entering with all into labours and dangers became famous indeed and of great reputation. Neither did he abuse the properous proceeding of his affairs to vanitie or braving in speeches. He termed it not an exploit or a conquest to have kept in order persons subdued before: he bedeckt not with lawrell his letters of advertisement, but flopping and suppressing the fame he augmented the same, when men began to discourse upon what great presumptions of future success, he should make to light an account of such great actions already performed.

Now as touching his civil government, Agricola knowing right well the disposition and minde of the Province, and taught also by experience of others, that armes availe 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 refrained, a point of more hardness to some then to govern a Province. He committed no manner of publike affaires to bondman or freed: he received no souldier neere to his person upon private affections of partiall fuiters, nor upon commendation or intreatie of Centurions, but elected the best, presuming these to be the most faithfull. He would see into all things, not exact all things to the rigour: light faults he would pardon, and the great severely correct: not alwaies proceeding to punish, but often content with repanctance: chusing rather not to preffure to office and charge such as were like to offend, then after the offence to condemn them. The augmentation of tribute and corne he mollified with equall dividing of burdens, cutting away those pettie exhortions which grieved the subject more then the tribute itselfe. For the poor people were constrained in a mockery to waite at the barnes which were locked against them, and first to buy corne, then after to sell at a price. Several wayes were enjoyned, and farre distant places by the Purveyours commandments: that the country should carry from the nearest standing camps to those where were farre off and out of the way, till that which lay open to all and at hand was turned in fine to the gain of a few. The augmentation of tribute and corne was mollified with equall dividing of burdens, cutting away those pettie exhortions which grieved the subject more then the tribute itselfe. For the poor people were constrained in a mockery to waite at the barnes which were locked against them, and first to buy corne, then after to sell at a price. Several wayes were enjoyned, and farre distant places by the Purveyours commandments: that the country should carry from the nearest standing camps to those where were farre off and out of the way, till that which lay open to all and at hand was turned in fine to the gain of a few. By represing these abuses straight in his first yeare, a good opinion was conceived of the peace, which either by the negligence or connivance of former Lieutenants was now no leffe feared then warre. But when the summer was come, assembling his army together, those which in marching behaved themselves in modest fort he commended, and checked the loose and diffolute straglers: the places for pitching the camp he designed himself, the forets and the thickets he proved the first in his owne person: not suffering in the meanes reason any corner in quiet in the enemies countrey, but wafting and spoiling with sudden excursions and roades, and when he had thoroughly terrified them, then would he again spare and forbear, alluring thereby their minde to friendship and peace.

Upon which kind of proceeding many states, which before that day stood upon nomination, terms of equalitie, gave hostages, and meekly submitted themselves, receiving garrison and permitting to fortifie; which he so wisely with such great foresight and reason performed, that nothing was ever attempted against them, whereas no new fortified place in all Britannie escaped before unaffayled.

The winter ensuing was spent in a most profitable and politicke devise. For whereas the Britains were rude and dispersed, and therefore prone upon every occasion to warre to induce them by pleasures to quietneffe: and rest, he exhorted them in...
written by Cornelius Tacitus.

in private, and help them in common to build temples and houses, and places of publike resort, commending the forward and checking the slow, imposing thereby a kind of necessity upon them, while each man contended to gain the Lieutenants good will. Moreover the noble mens fonnnes 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 Romane language, whereas they lately rejected the speeche. After that our attire grew to be in account, and the Gowne much used among them: and so by little and little they proceeded to those provocations of vices, to sumptuous galleries, and bithes, and exquisite banquetings; which things the ignorant counted civilitie, being indeed a point of their bondage. In the third yeere of his warres he discovered new countries, waiting a long time, till he came to the firth of Taus. Which thing so terrified the enemies, that although the army had been toiled with cruell tempests, yet they durst not refuse them, and the Romans moreover had leisure and space to fortifie them. There which were skilfull that way observed, that never any Captains did more advisedly chuse his places: no callie planted by Agricola ever was either forced by strength, or upon conditions surrendered, or, as not defensible, forsaken. Many times they illused forth: for against a long siege, they were stored with a whole yers provision. So they wittered there without feare, every garrion guarding it self, and needing no help of their neighbours; the enemies assaulting sometimés, but in vain without any success, and driven thereupon to despare. For the losses of summer they were commonly wont to repare with winter events: now summer and winter alike they went to the worse. And in all these actions Agricola never sought to draw to himself the glory of an exploit done by another, but were it Centurion or of other degree, he would faithfully witnesse the fact, and yeeld him always his due commendation. By some he is said to have somewhat bitter in reuoking: and indeed the man was, as toward the good of most sweet disposition, so to bad and lewd persons unpleasant and lower: but his choler passed away with his words: closeness in him and silence you needed not feare: he esteemed it more honest to offend, then to hate. The fourth summer was spent in perusing and ordering that, which he had overrun: and if the valiant minde of the armies, and glory of the Romane name could have permitted, or accepted it so, they needed not to have sought other limit of Britannie. For Glora & Bodotria, two armes of two contrary seas shooting mightily into the land, are only divided afunder by a narrow partition of ground, which passag was guarded and fortifie then with garrion and calfe: so that the Romans were absolute lords of all on this side, having caft out the enemy, as it were, into another land. The fift yeere of the warre Agricola first taking sea went over and subdued, with many and prosperous conflicts, nations before that time unknown, and furnishd with force that part of Britannie, which lyeth against Ireland, more in hope then for feare. For Ireland if it might have been wonne, lying between Britanny and Spaine, and fitly also for the French sea, would aptly have united, to the great advantage of the one and the other, these strongest members of the Empire together. In bignesse it is inferior to Britannie, howbeit bigger than the lands of our sea. The soille and temperature of the aire, the nature and fashions of the People, differ not much from the Britifh. The ports and places of acceffe are more knowne by reason of more frequenting of merchants. Agricola had receved before a Prince of that coutrie driven out by civill diflention, whom under colour of courtezie and friendfhip he retained till occasion should ferue. I have heard him oftimes say, that with one Legion and some fev Aydes, Ireland might be
be won and possessed, and that it were also a strength for our British affairs, if the Roman forces were planted else where, and liberty, as it were, banished out of sight.

Now in the summer, which began the sixt yeare of his office, because a general rising in armies of all the further nations beyond Bodotria was feared, and passages were all beset with the power of the enemies, he manned a fleet to search the creekes and harbours of the ample region beyond it, backing them first of all with a navy the rest of his strength, and with a boldly brave fleet bringing warre both by land and by sea. And oft so it chanced, that the horseman and footman and the sea-soldier met and made merry in the same camp, extolling and magnifying each their own prowess and adventures: making their vaunts and comparisons soldier-like, the one of the woods and high mountains, the other of dangers of tempests and waves: the one of the land and the enemy, the other of the Ocean, subdued. The Britans, as by the prisoner it was understood, were amazed also at the fight of the navy, as though now the secrets of their sea were disclosed, and no refuge remained if they were overcome. Whereupon the Caledonians arming with great preparation and greater fame, as the manner is of matters unknown, assayed our castles as challengers, braving and putting in feare: infomuch that some of our side, which would seem to be wise, being dastards indeed, counselled the General to retire on this side Bodotria, and rather to depart of her own accord, then to be repelled with shame. In the mean season Agricola hath knowledge, that the enemies meant to divide themselves, and to give the onseft in several companies. Whereupon left he should be enclosed about, and intrapped by their multitude and skill in the country, he marched also with his army divided in three. Which when it was known to the enemy, changing advise on the sudden, & uniting their forces together, they joyntly assaulted by night the ninth Legion, as being of weakest resistance: and having slain the watch, partly asleep, and partly amazed with fear, brake into the camp. And now were they fighting within the trenches, when Agricola having understood by spies what way the enemies had taken, and following their footsteps, commanded the lightest horsemen and footmen to play on their backs and maintain the skirmish, and anon the whole army to shott. And when it drew neere to be day, the glittering of the ensignes was seen. So the Britans being quailed with a double danger, the Romans recovered courage again, and being out of perill of their persons, fought now for their honour, freshely affailing their late assailers, and driving them to the gates: where in the frants the conflict was sharp and cruel, till in the end the enemies were forced to flee, whilest both our armies contended, the one to seeme to have helped their fellows, the other to have needed none other to help them: and if the bogges and woods had not covered their flight, that victory had ended the warre. Upon this battell so manfully fought, so famously won, the army presuming that to their prowess all things were easie and open, cried to leade into Caledonia, and to finde out the limit of Britanny with a course of continuall conquests: and those which erstwhile were so wary and wise, waxt forward enough after the event, and grew to speake bigly: such is the hard condition of warres: if outh fall out well all challenge a part, misfortunes are onely imputed to one. Contrariwise the Britans presupposing that not valour, but the cunning of the Generall, by using the occasion, had carried it away, abated no whit of their stomach, but armed their youth, transported their children and wives into places of safest, and fought by assemblies and religious rites to establish an association of the cities together. And so for that yeare both parties departed incensed away.
The same summer a cohort of Vipsians, levied in Germany, and sent over into Britain, committed a hainous and memorable act. For having slain a Centurion and certaine fouldiers set over them for direction in discipline, they fled and embarked themselves in three vessels, compelling the Masters by force to execute their charge: and only one doing his office, the other two being suspected and thereupon slain, this strange going out, the fact being yet not noised abroad, was gazed and wondered at. Afterward being driven uncertainly hither and thither, and assaying the Britans which stood in defence of their owne, often prevailing and sometime repulsed, they came at the last to that miferie, that they were inforced to eate one another, first of the weakest, then as the lot lighted. And thus floating about Britanny, and leaing their vessels for lacke of government, they were intercepted first by the Suevians, and then by the Fritians, as pirates and robbers, and some of them being bought by merchants as slaves and by change of masters brought to our side of the river, grew into a name by giving first notice of so great and so rare an adventure.

In the beginning of the summer Agricola was deeply touched with a grievous mishance which happened in his own house: for he lost his own sonne being about a yeere old. Which unfortunate hap he neither bare out, as some great men have done in the like, vain-gloriously, nor tooke it again so impatiently as women are wont: and amidst his mourning and sorrow used the warre as one of his remedies. Therefore sending his navy before, which by spoiling in sundry places should induce a greater and uncertain terror upon them, he made ready and followed himself with his army, joyning thereto some of the valiantest Britans, whom by long experience in peace he had found most faithfull, and so arrived at the mount Grampius, where the enemies were lodged before. For the Britans not daunted with the event of the former battell, and attending for nothing else but revenge or servitude, and being taught at the length that common danger must be repell'd with concord, by leagues and embassages had assembled the power of all the cities together above thirtie thousand armed men, the view being taken, beside an endless number of youth, which daily flocked to them, and lusty 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 principal man, seeing the multitude hotly demand the battell, is said to have utted this speech.

"When I view and consider the cause of this warre, and our present necessitie, I have reason, me semes, to presume, that this day, and this your agreeing consent, will give a happy beginning to the freemone of the whole Iland. For both have we all hitherto lived in libertie, and beside no land remaineth beyond, no sea for our saftetie, the Romane navy thus, as you see, surveying our coasts: so that com-bate and armes, which men of vertue desire for honour, the daftard also mutt use for his securitie. The former battells, which have with diverse event been fought with the Romanes, had their refuge, and hope resting in our hands. For we the flower of the British nobility, and feared therefore the furthermost in, saw never the coasts of the countreys, which serv'd in slavery, even our eyes are kept un-polluted, and free from all contagion of tyranny. Beyond us is no land, beside us none are free: us hitherto this corner and secret recesse hath defended. Now the utmost point of the land is laid open: and things the leffe they have been within knowledge, the greater the glory is to achieve them. But what nation now is there beyond us? what else but water and rocks, and the Romane lords of all within land? whose intolerable pride in vain shall you seek to avoid by service..."
service and humble behaviour: robbers of the world, that having now left no land to be spoiled, search also the sea. If the enemy be rich, they seek to win wealth: if poor, they are content to gain glory: whom not the East, nor the west have satisfied: the only men of all memory that seek out all places, be they wealthy or poor, with like ardent affection. To take away by main force, to kill and to spoil, falsely they term empire and government: when all is waste as a wilderness, that they call peace. His children and blood each man by nature holdeth most dear: those are pressed for soldiers, and carried away to be slaves elsewhere. Our sisters and wives, though they be not violently forced as in open hostilities, are in the mean while under the colour and title of friends and guests often abused. Our goods and substance they draw for tribute, our corn for provision: our bodies and hands, they wear and confine, in paving of bogges and of woods, with a thousand stripes and indignities. Slaves which are born to bondage are sold, but once, and after are fed at their owners expences: but Britannie daily buys them, daily feedeth, and is at charges with her own bondage. And as in a private retinue the free man and laft comer is laughed and scoffed at by his very fellow servants, so in this old servitude of the whole world our destruction only is sought, as being the latest and most vile in account. We have no fields to nurture, no mines to be digged, no ports to trade in: and to what purpose then should they reserve us alive? Moreover the manhood and fierce courage of the subject pleaseth not much the jealous Sovereigne: and this corner being so secret and out of the way, the more securitie it yeeldeth to us, in them it works the greater subjection. So seeing all hope of pardon is past, at the length take courage to defend and maintain your safety as well as your honour. The Brigantines led by a woman fired the colony, forced the castles: and if such a lucky beginning had not ended in sloth and securitie, they might have with ease shakke off the yoke. We as yet neither touched, never subdued, and born to be free, not to be slaves of the Romanes, let us shew straight in the first joyning what manner of men Caledonia reserved in store for her self. Or do you think the Romans to be as valiant in warre as they are wont in peace? No, not by their vertue, but by our jarrings and discordsthey are grown into fame: and the faults of their enemies they abuse to the glory of their own army composed of most divers nations, & therefore as by present prosperitie holden together, so if fortune do shew it doublefeth disollveth: unlefe you suppose the Frenchmen and Germans, and, to our shame, be it spoken, many of our own nation, which now lend their lives to esstablish a forrein uterper, and yet have been enemies longer than servants, to be led and induced with any true hearted and faithful affection. No, it is terror and feare, weake workers of love, which if you remove, those which shall have ceased to feare will straight begin for to hate. All things to incite to the victorie are on our side. No wise to encourage the Romans: no parents to upbraid them if they flee: most have either no country at all, or some other: a few fearfull persons, trembling and gazing at the strangeness of the heaven it self, the sea and the woods: whom the gods have delivered mewed up, as it were, and fettered into our hands. Let not the vain shew and glittering of gold and silver terrifie us, which neither defends nor offendeth. Among the enemies we shall finde of our side: the Britains will agnize their own cause: the French will remember their freedome and former estate: the rest of the Germans will leave and forfake them, as of late the Utipians did. And what else then have we to feare? the castles are empty, the colonies peopled with aged and impotent persons, the free cities discontent and in factions, whilest those
which are under obey with ill will, and they which doe governe rule against right. Here is the Generall and here the army, there tributes and mines, and other miseries inseparably following them which live under subjection of others: which whether we are to continue for ever, or straights to revenge, it lyeth this day in the field. Wherefore going to battell beare in your minde, I befeech you, both your ances-

flours and your potteritie. This speech was cheerfully received, with a song after their barbarous fashion, with confused acclamations and noises. And as the companies clustered together, and glittering of armour appeared, whilst some of the boldest advanced forward, and with all the rankes were putting themselves in array, Agricola albeit his fouldier was glad of that day, and scarce could with words be withholden, supposing yet best to say somewhat, encouraged them in this wise.

Fellow-fouldiers and companions in armes, your faithfull service and diligence, these eight yeeres so painfully shewed, by the vertue and fortune of the Roman Empire hath conquered Britanny. In so many journeys, in so many battels we had of necessitie to shew our selves either valiant against the enemy, or patient and laborious above and against nature it selfe. In which exploits we have borne us both hitherto fo, that neither did I desire better fouldiers, nor you other Captaine. We have exceeded the limits, I of my predecessors, and you likewys of yours. The end of Britanny is found, not by fame and report, but we are with our armes and pavilions really invected thereof: Britanny is found and subdued. In marching when the paffing of bogges, or mountaines, and rivers, troubled and tired you out, how oft have I heard the vaillant fouldier say, When will the enemy present himself? when shall we fight? loe they are now put 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 loose, all against you. For as to have gone so much ground, escaped the woods, passed over the firthes, is honourable forward, so if we doe steele, the vantages we have this day will become our most dis-

advantage. For we are not skilled so well in the countreys, we have not the like store of provision, but hands we have and weapons, and therein all things included. For my part I am long since resolved, that to shew their backs is neither saftie for fouldier nor Generall: and therefore a commendable death is better then life with reproch; and furetie and honour are commonly dwelling together: or if ought should mishappen, even this will be a glory, to have died in the uttermost end of the world and nature. If new nations, and fouldiers unknowne were in the field, I would by the example of other armies put you in courage: now recount you your own victorious exploits, and ask your own eyes. These are the fame men, which the last yeere affailed one legion by stealth in the night, and were by a blast of your mouth overthrown: these of all other Britans have been the most nimble in running away, and therefore have escaped the longest alive. For as in forrests and woods the strongest beasts are chased away by maine force, the cowardly and fearefull are scarred by the noife of the hunters, so the vaillant of the Britifh nation we have already dispathed, the racl herd herds by dartlywardly cowardly only remaineth: whom at length you have found, not as having intended to stay and make head, but as last overtaken, and by extreme passion of feare standing as stocks, presenting oc-

casion to us in this place of a worthy and memorable victory. Make an end therefore of your warfare, and to the fiftie yeeres travels let this day impose a glorious conclusion. Approve to your countrey, that the army could never jutly be charged either with prosecuting the warre, or pretences for not accomplishing the conquest. As Agricola was yet speaking, the fouldiers gave great tokens of fervencie, and when

\[From the first entry of Claudius into Britanny rememneth not, to have been any bower or 

five and fortie years.\]
when he had ended accompanied the speech with a joyfull applause, and ran straight
ways to the weapons. Agricola seeing them sufficiently animated, and rushing
furiously forward, ordered his men in this manner. With the Auxiliary footmen,
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 victory, if it were obtained with-
out Roman bloud, otherwise for assistance and succour, if the vantguard should be
repelled. The Britans were marshalled in the higher ground, first both to the shew
and to terrifie, the first battalion standing on the plaine, the rest in the ascent of the
hill, knit & rising as it were one over another: the middle of the field was filled with
the clattering and running of * chariots and horsemen. Then Agricola perceiving
the enemy to exceed him in number, and fearing left he should be assailed on the
front and flanks both at one instant, displayed his army in length: and although
by that means the battell would become disproportionably long, and many ad-
vised him to take in the Legions, yet being more forward to hope, then yielding to
fear he rejected the counsell, and leaving his horse, advanced himselfe before the
enigmes on foot. In the first encounter, before the joyning, both sides discharge
and threw: wherein the Britans employing both Art and valour, with their great
swords and little targets, afoved our throwes, or thooke them, darting withall
great store against us of theirs: till at length Agricola sprying his vantage exorted
three Batavian cohorts, and two of the Tungrians to press forward, and bring the
matter to handy strokes and dint of the sword, a thing which they in respect of long
service were able readily to perform, and contrarily to the enemies prejudicial, and
hurtfull by reason of their little bucklers, and huge swords: for the swords of the
Britans, being blunt pointed, were no way fit for the close or for open fight. Now
as the Batavians began to deal blows, to strike with the pikes of their bucklers,
to mangle their faces, and having overborne in the plaine all that refisted, to march up
the mountains, the rest of the cohorts gathering courage upon emulation violently
beat down all about them, and many halfe dead, or wholly untouched, were left
for haste of winning the field. In the mean time the chariots mingled themselves
with the battell of the footmen, and the troopes of the horsemen began for to
flee: who albeit they had lately terrified others, were now distrest themselves by
the unevenness of the ground, and thick rankes of their enemies. Neither was
the forme of the fight like a loose skirmish of horsemen to and fro, but standing tall
and maintaining their places, they bought by maine weight of horse to breake and
bear downe one another. The wandring waggon also, and masterlesse horses affri-
fighted, as it happened them by feare to be guided, over-bare many times of their
friends which met them, or thwarted their way. Now the Britans, which food
aloofe from the battell on the height of the hills, and at their good leisured disdained
our fewness, began to come downe by little and little, and to compasse about the
backs of our men, which were now in traine of winning the field: but Agricola sus-
pecting as much, opposed against them foure wings of horsemen purposely retain-
ed about him for sudden dispatches, and chances of warre, and repulsed them back
as sharply, as fiercely they ran to affail. So the counsell of the Britans turned
upon their own heads: and the wings were commanded to forsake the battell and
follow the flight. Then might you have seene in the open fields a grievous and
pitifull spectacle, pursuing, wounding, taking, and killing of them which were taken
when others were offred. Now whole regiments of the enemies, according to their
severall dispositions, though armed and moe in number, turned them backs to the
fewer
fewer: others unarmed fought their own death, offering themselves voluntarily to the slaughter. Everywhere the weapons lay scattered, and sometimes even in them which were overcome, appeared now at their end both anger and valor. When they approached the woods, uniting themselves, they intrapped unawares some of the formost of our men, which unadvisedly followed, not knowing the country: and unless Agricola had with his presence every where afflicted at need, setting about them of his bravest and most ready footmen, as it were in forme of a toyle, and commanding some of his horsemen to leave their horses where the passages were narrow, and others where the wood was thin to enter on horseback, no doubt we had taken some blow by our overmuch boldness. But after they saw our men againe in strong array to follow the chase in good order, they fled, not in troopes as before, and attending each other, but utterly disbanded and jingle, eschewing all company, toward the dellart and farre distant places. The night and our violence of blood made an end of the chase. Of the enemies side nine thousand were slain: three hundred and forty of ours; amongst whom was Aulus Atticus a Captain of a cohort, upon a youthfull heat, and through the fierceness of his horse, being carried into the midst of his enemies. That night the winners for their part folaced themselves with the victory and spoile: and the Britaines being utterly with them their hurt persons call the not hurt, for sake their owne houses, and in despite also, set them on fire themselves, chuse out holes for to lurke in, and straightway for sake them, communicate some counsells together, and then have some glimbringe of hope: sometimes at the sight of their dearest beloved they are moved to pity, more often flirred to rage: and certain it is, that some, as by way of compassion and mercy, slew their own children and wives. The day following discovered more plainly the greatnesse of the victory. Every where defolation and silence; no stirrings in the mountains: the houses fired and smoaking farre off, no man to meet with our spies, who being sent abroad into all quarters found by their footsteps the flight was uncertain, and that they were now where in companies together. Whereupon Agricola because the summer was spent, and the warre could not conveniently be divid- ed, bringeth his army into the borders of the Horrestians, where receiving hostages he commanded the Admirall of the navy to tale about Britain, lending him foulidiers and strength for that purpose, and the terror of the Roman name was gone already before. Himself with eafe and gentle journeys, to terrifie the new conquered nations with the very stay of his passage, disposed his footmen and horsemen in the wintering places, and withall the navy with prosperous winde and succeffe ar- rived at the port Trutulenſis, from whence it "departed, and coating along the nearest side of Brittany returned thither againe.

This state of affairs in Britain Agricola signified by letter, without any amplifying terms to Domitian: who after his manner with a cheerefull countenance, and grieved heart received the news: being inwardly pricked to thinke, that his late counterfeit triumph of Germany, wherein certaine slaves bought for money were attirred, and their hair dreffen as captives of that country, was had in detilation and jufly skorned abroad, whereas now a true and great victory, so many thousands of enemies being slain, was current and famous in every 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 Oratory, and all other worthy politique arts, if he should in military glory be disfigured 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 virtue peculiar for a Prince.
With these and the like cares being tormentted, and musing much in his closet alone,
which was a token and signe of some cruelty intended, he thought it yet best for the
present to diftemble and put off his malice, untill the heat of his glory & love of his
foudiers, were somewhat abated, for as yet Agricola remained in charge. Where-
fore he commanded that all the honours of triumphal ornaments, * image trium-
phali fatae, and what else usually was conferred in lieu of triumph, should be awarded un-
to him in Senate in most ample & honorable termes: and sending a succesor caus
twithstanding a bruitt to be spread, that the province of Syria which then lay voyde, by the
death of Atiuus Rufus the Lieutenant, and was reserved for men of great quality,
was purpofe unto him. And a common opinion went, that Domitian sending one
of his moft secret and trufty servants to Agricola, sent withall the patent of Syria,
with instruction, that if he were in Britanny it should be delivered: and that the
same man meeting Agricola as he crossed the sea, without speaking unto him, or
delivering his message, returned againe to Domitian. Whether this were true or
fained and surmized probably, as correspondent to the princes disposition, I cannot
affirme: but in the mean season Agricola had delivered to his succesfor the pro-
vince in good and peaceable estate. And left his arrival at Rome should be noted, by
reason of the multitudes of people which would goe out to see, and to meet him,
cutting off that curtesie of his friends, he entred the city by night, and by night, as he
was willed, came to the palace. Where being admitted to the Princes presence, & re-
ceived with a short salutation and no speech, he sorted himselfe with the resto of the
waiters. Now to the end he might temper & qualify with other good parts his mili-
tar renown, a vertue unpleaſant to men of no action, he gave himself wholly to qui-
etnesse and medling with nothing; being in apparell moderate, affable in speech, ac-
companied usually but by one or two of his friends: so that many, which commonly
judged of great men by outward appearance and pompe, seeing and marking A-
gricola, miffed of that which by fame they conceived, few aymed atright at the
caus. Often was he in those dayes accused to Domitian in abfence, and in abfence
acquittted. The cauſe was neither matter of crime, nor complaint of party agriev-
ed, but the renowne of the man, and the Princes disposition hating all vertue, and
the moft capitall kind of enemies commenders, procured the peril. And in truth
those times enfued in the state, which would not suffer Agricolaes name to be bu-
ried in silence: so many armies in Moesia, Dacia, Germany, Pannonia, either
through the raufeneffe or cowardineffe of the Generals caſt away: so many good
foildiers, with so many cohorts defeated and taken. Neither was it the question
then for the uttermost bounds of the Empire and banke of the River, but the
standing campes of the Legions, and the provinces themselves were in danger of
leeſing: so that losſes being heat upon losſes, and every yeere becoming no-
torius for some calamity and overthrow, Agricola was required by the fpeech of
the people for Generall, every man comparing his quickeneffe, resoluteſſe, and
experience in warre, with their insufficient and daftardly dealings: with which
kine of talke, it is certainly knowne, Domitians eares were not unacquainted:his
faithfulleſt servants upon love and allegiance, the reft upon spire and envy pric-
ing him forward, being of himselfe prone to the worſe. So Agricola partly through
his owne vertues, and partly the vices of others, was drawn headlong perforce
into glory. Now the yeere was at hand, when as the Proconsulhip of Asia, or
Africke should be allotted unto him, and upon the late murdering of * Civica, nei-
ther
written by Cornelius Tacitus.

ther could Domitian fail of example to follow, nor Agricola of direction what he should doe. Some also privy to the Princes secret intents offered speech of theirselves, and asked him whether he could be content to accept of the government; commending at the first a farre off a quiet life and voyde of businesse, and proffering anion their mediation to the Prince to allow his excuse. At the last declaring their purpose in plaine terms, by persuasions and threats they induced him to become a direct suitor in that behalfe to Domitian: who setting a fained countenance upon it, and composynge himselfe to keep majesty and state, both heard his humble petition excusing himself from that charge, and when the excuse was admetted, suffered himselfe to be solemnly thanked, and was not ashamed of so odious a benefit. Howbeit the pension, which was wont to be offered to men of that quality and by him had beene granted to certaine, he did not bestow upon Agricola: either being offended it was not fued for, or upon the guiltinesse of his owne conscience, left thereby he should seeeme to have bought out that thing, which he had forbidden. It is the property of mans nature to hate those whom he hath hurted: before Domitian was prone and headlong to anger, and the more close the more irrevocable, yet was he notwithstanding altered and mollified by Agricolaa discretion and wary behaviour: for he did not with obstinacy, nor vaine ostentation of liberty, neither haften his fame nor his fall. Let them well know that are wont to admire those things alone, which are done against the streame of the time, that great men may be found even under bad Princes; that dutifull obedience and modesty, if industriu and valour be joined, may attaine to that degree of praise and renowne, which some following dangerous courses have aspired unto by an "ambitious death", without any further profit at all.

The end of his life brought mourning to us, and grieve to his friends, and even by strangers and persons unknown was lamented: the common fort also, and this retchlesse people of ours, both came oft to his house, and in all publike places & meetings had it in speech, neither did any person, when he heard of his death, either rejoice, or sodainely forget it. And that which procured the greater compassion was a constant report, that he was made away by poyson. Of mine owne knowledge I dare affirme nothing; this only, that during the time of his sicknesse there came from Domitian oftener then usually are wont from Princes, who visit by others, both of his secretes servants and nearest phiytians to see him, whether as of carefullnesse, or only to spie. I leave it uncertain: certain it is, that in the depth of his death, every degree of his going away was carried in post to the Prince; and few men beleued the newes should be hastened so much, that he would be forry to heare. Notwithstanding he made shew of sorrow in minde and in countenance, being now out of danger of that which he hated, and one that more easly could distempe his joy and 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 rejoyned thereat, as if it had beene a signe of honour, or proceeded of judgement: so blinde he was, and so greatly corrupted by continuell custome of flatteries, that he could not perceive, that no good father did ever appoint for his heire any Prince, but a tyrant. Agricola was borne the thirteenth day of June, Caius Cæsar being thirtie time Consull, and dyed the sixe and fiftieth yeere of his age, the fower and twentieth day of August, Collega and Prifcus being Consuls. Of personage (if posterny 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 dyed in the middle course of
ThelifeofJuliusAgricola

his ripe age, in respect of honour and glory he lived with the longest: for of all the parts of true felicicie, which consisteth in vertue, he had fulfilled the measure: and having obtained beside Consulare and triumphall ornaments, what more could fortune annex to his estate? Exceffe of riches he delighted not in; honourably 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 flourishing state. For as in our hearing he wished and hoped to live and last to the light of this most blessed age, and see Trajan established Prince, so his hastened death had this great comfort, that he lived not to see that last and most miserable time, in the which Domitian, not at seasons but by fits, but with a continuall course and at one blow, as it were, ruined the state. Agricola lived not to see the Senate-house befeft, the Senate environed with fouldiers, and all in one fury the death of so many Consulare personages, the banishments, and flights of so many great women.

Carus Metius had obtained as yet but one conquest, and Meffalinus bloody sentences kept themselves within the manner of Alba, and Maffa Bebius himself was then called in question. Anon after our hands led Helvidius into prison, the sight of Mauricus and Rusticus pierced our hearts; Senecio be sprinkled us with his guiltlesse blood. Yet Nero withdrew his presence, and commanded cruelties, looked not on, the principal part of our miseries under Domitian was to see and to be seen; when our secret sighs were registred, when that cruell countenance and red vifage, with which he armed himselfe against blushing and shame, could endure to note and marke the feares and paleneffe of so many persons. Thrice happy then mayest thou, Agricola, be counted, not only for the renowne of thy life, but also for the opportunity of thy deceafe. Thou diddest as they doe affirme, which were present at thy laft speeches, accept thy death most patientely and willingly, as though for thy part thou wouldest have cleared the Prince. But I and thy daughter, beside the losse of so deere a father, we have a further caufe to be grieved, that it was not our chance to be by in thy sickness, to cherish thy weaknesse, to satisfie and content our selves with seeing and embracing thee. Some counsell no doubt, and some precepts we should have received in charge to print and engrave in our hearts: this is our grieffe, this our speciall misfortune: to us, in respect of our long absence foure yeres before thou was loit. And albeit thy most loving wife the beft of all mothers fate by, and furnished no doubt all things in most honorable fort, yet wast thou layed up with fewer teares, and at thy laft houre thine eyes missef somewhat. If there be any place for the ghosts of good men, if, as wife men define, the soules of great per- sons dye not with the body, in peace mayest thou reft, and recall us thy poffocer from impatient and womanish wailings to the contemplation of thy vertues, which are in no fort to be forrowed for, or bewailed, but rather admired, * * * * * * * This is true honour indeed, and this is the dutie of neereft kinsfolkes. So I would counsell thy daughter and wife to reverence the memory of their father and husband, with often rememberring his doings and words, recognizing the glory and image of his minde, rather then of his body: not that I dislike of images cut in marble or metall, but as mens faces, so the images of faces are mortall and fraile; the fhape of the minde is externall, which we may repreffent and expresse, not by matter and Art borrowed abroad, but by our owne manners within. That of Agricola which we did love, which we admired, remaineth, and so will remaine, in the mindes of men, in the continuall succession of ages, in fame and renoune. For many of the ancients will lye buried in obscure and inglorious oblivion.
Annotations upon the life of Julius Agricola.

1. Forum Julium] A towne seated in liure Narbonensis, distant from Massilia 75 miles, as Strabo reckoneth. Of the same name there were also in Italy, but none so famous as this. The present site whereof is described very well (as all other things) by that excellent Chancellor of France, Michael * Hospitals.

2. None of the judicall places] That is, he was neither Praetor urbani, nor praecursus, which were the two places of civil causes, properly called by the name of * Jurisdiction. To the rest belonged cognizance of criminal causes, as de Ambitus, Reipublica, Fallo de facta, &c. properly called by the name of * Processus. And under the Emperors handed before the Praetorius urbani, rather than their own Praetor, which at those times carried not much more then a bare name.

3. Plays] To give plays and paftimes to the people, seemeth to have been at the first the Ediles peculiar charge, and afterward common to all magistrates in a manner, Questors, Praetors, Consuls, &c. Of Praetors it is plain from the words of Calistus to Bruto in Plutarch: quo palis in senatu &c. &c. * At which time if ever it were cited, it was by the name of * Processus. And of Praetors it is plain, that at one time Cicero * restitutus sepe. Zo\*simus de * "That is, Augustus by permission, as he would have it seem, of the Senate, supplied in the number of the Patricians, whereof the most part was decayed, nothing in civil wars going to much to the walls as the ancient nobility. Dio. lib. 53, And Claudius, Iscidem duabus insigni nomen regum fermando, quam saepe nec res. nec tempora, saepe semper in rebus legis, qui deinde minorum gentium fini appellavit. Liv. lib. 1. And when the Kings were cast out, quaestus in senatu etiam aliquis attollit, ubi in querela ad causam; cumque eadem res, saepe duobus abscendi proponit, et dicatur Bruto lex. And five years after, Appius uap. 11. lib. 1. Claudius, facing with his faction from the Sabins to Rome, inter Patres lex. 65; being the last, I remember, upon whom in the free state that honour was conferred, to be made a patrician. The Emperors many years after upon the like causes, or to please their friends, remued the custom. * Julius Senatun suppletia, Patricus aliud, &c. Suet. *c. And Augustus, * Inhibebatur Patricius, veteris quippe genus, ut iterumque in senatu, atque in plebs, in publica in publica gentium, & ceteris sit actio. But it was not so from this time to the latter Emperors. * That is, Patricius had obtained the dignity of Patricius at Confinanium hand, who first devised the edifice, and gave them in place preference before the Praefectus Praetorio, lib. 5. And of Patr. * The figure of the whole Britanay according to Tacitus.

4. Patricians] One of the fundamental divisions in the Roman state was in Patres, five Patrici, & plebiscs. The Patrici were all made by Romulus, as Livy reporteth, Senators and Councillors of state: as Dionysus, out of the Patrici the Senators were elected. Hofillus uniting Alba to Rome, Principes Albannarum in Patres, ut quaque pars resp. conferret, legis, Julium, Servilios, Quintilios, Geganios, Carusio, Claudiu. After whom the elder Terquemius non minus regum regit, quam saepe nec res. nec tempora, saepe semper in rebus legis, qui deinde minorum gentium fini appellavit. Liv. lib. 1. And when the Kings were cast out, quaestus in senatu etiam aliquis attollit, ubi in querela ad causam; cumque eadem res, saepe duobus abscendi proponit, et dicatur Bruto lex. And five years after, Appius uap. 11. lib. 1. Claudius, facing with his faction from the Sabins to Rome, inter Patres lex. 65; being the last, I remember, upon whom in the free state that honour was conferred, to be made a patrician. The Emperors many years after upon the like causes, or to please their friends, remued the custom. * Julius Senatun suppletia, Patricus aliud, &c. Suet. *c. And Augustus, * Inhibebatur Patricius, veteris quippe genus, ut iterumque in senatu, atque in plebs, in publica in publica gentium, & ceteris sit actio. But it was not so from this time to the latter Emperors. * That is, Patricius had obtained the dignity of Patricius at Confinanium hand, who first devised the edifice, and gave them in place preference before the Praefectus Praetorio, lib. 5. And of Patr. * The figure of the whole Britanay according to Tacitus.

5. A pontificial dignity] Of all the colleges of Priests, in Rome being many in number, that of the Pontifices was of supreme authority, consisting of four, afterward four more were added, and the number by Sulla further augmented, eligible in the free state by chapter, sometime by the people, afterward appointed by the Prince. The head of this college, was called Pontifex maximus, an honour reliant in the Emperors person even from the time of Julius, in whom the Empire, and Pontificatus first by chance were united, and continued even in the Christian Emperors. till Gratian call off both the name and the office. Zo\*simus lib. 5. * "That is, when the pontifices brought unto him according to the custom of the pontificial habit, he rejected the suit, supposing it unlawful for a Christian to wear that attire. And afterward Theodosius, the same Zo\*simus and Symmachus report, dissolved the college of the pontifices, and all the rest of the priests, and confiscated the revenues. The name of Pontifex, * saec. * saec. And Fa. * and Fa. 4. lib. 1. de ling. Lat. is deduced de pena, quam ab in Sabinius de satis primato, &c. Sest. * And Zo\*simus deriveth the name from an ancient cultume among the Thaeladors, where both the holy images of the gods being placed upon the bridge of the new Ponticus, the prieftthereof were named pontifici. * That is, the pontifices furnished with sacrificial rites, or the dith, or one of them the other (although two like a third ought in good Geometry to be like together) because I see not my self, I am content to care it to others. One thing.
7. The extreme and plain parts

A place in mine opinion very hard to be well understood, or at least, made good. For he seemeth to say, that the extreme parts of the world, the night therefore is nothing, or short, which importeth as much, as if the night were nothing else, but when the sunn, doth hide it self behind some mountain or other; else that albeit the earth toward the middled was globe and boyled, yet it was toward the pole, farrith and plane. Very vulgar conceits in so great a man, and in such an author: by that is meant I suppose, *umbra terrae*, as out of the bowels of art; and the lownesse of the shadow projected is the cause of the shortness of the nights, but the lownesse proceedeth not neither of mountain, nor plane, but because the Sunne and the Summer feason runneth his course almost all above ground in those countries toward the poles, and when it doth set, by reason of the inclination of his circle to the horizon, defended not directly, but pafteth obliquly running as it were under their horizon, yet one of the Panegyristas, as though Tacitus had delivered us here matter worthy of imitation, hath, taken the pains to assume this high point of learning ad verbum in his oration.


The extremities are weak, and not defensible, although peradventure as well in the one body as in the other, *vulgo*.

Thatis, Fulneffe, inaduethle danger generally, then *infinis, emptineſſis, doct*. This inconvenience Augustus wisely foreseeing in his time, when the Roman Empire was grown to that greatness, *itam ad haec nobis laborem*,...

...the Roman Empire was grown to that greatness, *itam ad haec nobis laborem*,...

A copy of the life of Julius Agricola.

...the Roman Empire was grown to that greatness, *itam ad haec nobis laborem*,...

Augustus himself discourse in these words, *nesc quidem uidelicet, sed si non*, by Liv. 10. 39, *ad haec nobis laborem*.

The Roman Empire was grown to that greatness, *itam ad haec nobis laborem*,...

...the Roman Empire was grown to that greatness, *itam ad haec nobis laborem*,...
Annotations upon the life of Julius Agricola.

It is permitted to utter a voice of good parts, but that he falsified with his crafty and deceitful means, to deceive and lead them. For the nature and motions of such people would not let them do good, but that they would please themselves. As it was in the case of the good Princes, in order to take advantage of others, and work to the matter of good, shall be done, shall be done, shall be done, shall be done, shall be done, shall be done, shall be done. The nature and motions of which humor and those who can mark and observe him, to take advantage of others, and work to the matter of good, shall be done, shall be done, shall be done, shall be done, shall be done, shall be done, shall be done. The nature and motions of which humor and those who can mark and observe him, to take advantage of others, and work to the matter of good, shall be done, shall be done, shall be done, shall be done, shall be done, shall be done, shall be done. The nature and motions of which humor and those who can mark and observe him, to take advantage of others, and work to the matter of good, shall be done, shall be done, shall be done, shall be done, shall be done, shall be done, shall be done.
nation found favour in some corners of Asia, till at length the use of eloquence decaying in common wealth, and the study thereof remaining in schools, that baillard Rhetorick returned againe, yielding us in stead of the soundly contrived sentences of Demothenes, Echines, Hyperides, the paintings of Arifidis, Philostratus, Dio Chrysostomes, and others, though not without opposition of many, as Dionysius, Lucian, and such like. The ancient Romans lacking the best from the Grecians, when they were at their best yawed not much that way, unless in adventure we may reckon Hortensius as one of the number: for so Tully in Bruto seemes to describe him. But of the latter, whom we have almost not infecte with that heresie of’tile begun by Seneca, Quinilian, the Plinies, and Tacitus, continued in their succeffors the Panegyrits, and lastly conveyed to Christian religion by Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, Bernard, &c. For a taste of this affectation in Tacitus, 1. Hist. Rom. temp. sufficiat ubi sentire qua voce, & qua sentio disceret stilo. Instructum animum habiat alium, script. proprium. Secundum res actuarum simulatimum similitudinem explorant, quae miseria tolerabitur, felicitatem corrupsimur. Quatuorbus (as for propria adoptantes, ad hoc tantum majoris fatis pralatum ut prae occidentur. 5. uno amne Strategia Canum explorat. Redemerunt qui castra invitis meque innoxenti. Res illas priores & facti principes terrae, quo minus facerent fides eum ulter eff qui quidquid faceret. Quodque eis placenta hostillis in non quidem in bello, sed pro pace tendebanur. 2. Hist. Velleius credidit de perfidia & fidem absolvit. 3. Hist. Aesopæ & ante Capitolium, sed sinque private, non paulum absolvit, paulum inducellam. With many more of the same markes.

FINIS.
A VIEW OF CERTAINE MILITARY

matters, for the better understanding of the

ancient Roman stories.

Service in wars is by land, or by water. The Roman service by land was either at home in the City, or extra-mural abroad. The external conscript principally in Legiones and Auxilia; a knowne division in the Roman stories. Livius lib. 8. Pro exercitio, legionibus, auxiliis. P. 8. legiones extra singularem hostiæ, sive censuram, mutui diem mutuo doceo. Most frequent in Tacitus s. h. infra stat in legiwarum quoque or auxiliarum manum sum meliora; but in the exarchies of the Roman stories, and the Roman quarters, the Roman military. Where also we see the vast things, by the present in Legiones and Auxilia, by two equivalent

in the latter members of the text. And Livius lib. 7. spectat exercitionis et fastis causae,

meaning the Roman Legions and Equites. L. 8. saith Varro lib. 4. de lingua Latina, quod legumur milites in deletiis, alibi. The Grecians translate it diversely: some some, others omnes

moraverunt, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor omnium, quor om...
from Polybius, and from his own both rules and examples in the warres with the Latines about the yere of the City 415, I maker five thouhand the ordinarie number of that yate, and lib. 42. = the custome of ancient times. And yet the same Livy, as having forgotten himselfe, saith Philo & Planc (lib. 1.) in the second Punische warre wracbrite: numero quoque legiones semis annis, mile, pedum in jungulis adjetia, ut quarem milita pedum efficate. Of five thousand we have examples every where of five thousand and two hundred in Polybius, lib. 1. in the French warres: and in Appian where he refleth, the five Legions of the same Eusebius 2 in 126, were reduced into one hundred and twenty thousand. Of five thousand and foure hundred in Livy, lib. 37, indue warres against Antochus. Of five thousand in the warre against Pericus. Liviu, lib. 42. Appianus in Mithridatico refleith the five Legions of Lucullus into thirty. Quins, 2. Ex. after the warre at Philippi, Antonius interpretteth to the Grecians twenty eight Legions of the number ordinarie. Tenta legio, saith Vegetius, lib. 1. speaking no doubt of that time; pedem ten milia centum fundatur, at the lowest reckoning. Where yet we are to understand, that the corpes of his Legion confisteth only of five thousand and five hundred, the ret being officers, to wit, five hundred and fifty Diziniers, and sixty Centurions the summe foute hundred one hundred. Whereas contrariwise in the ancient times the Centurions and under officers, as in truth most men, were taken out of the bodie of their companies, by ambition and fur superinduced. And in the declaration of the Empire under Honorius we finde the faine number of fixe thousand. Zolimus lib. 2. Where we hovie the legiones semis annis, mile, semis in Jungulis adjectia, ut quarem milita pedum efficate. That is, it seemed expedient to the Emperour to send out for of Dalmatia five Legions to guard the City of Rome, in these Legions we finde fixe thousand men. For so 1 interprete the place dissipation as they call it, fixe thousand for every one of the five Legions, especially the fame Zolimus lib. 6, resolving &c. with the same warre into quatuor semis. Thus sixe Legions of soldiers into 40000. was performed. Now for horſemen Polybius in the warre of Hannibal & Eusebius, and Livy in the warre of Antony in Parthia fixsixe thousand horse to eighteen Legions. As having to deale with a nation whole principal strength confisted in horſemen: and yet peradventure of that fuite hundred and the smallest part was Legionario. In Appian 3. &c. in the civil wars after Caesar's death, two Legions in Africae had a thousand horse annexed, the ancient proportion belee seming, an hundred was, too few. Under the Empire, as it may be gathered by Vegetius, fixe hundred at the least were matriculated in a Legion, and fixe hundred and fixy where prima colors was militia, before fixe hundred Decurions: summ, seven hundred twenty thousand comprehending the officers. As for ' Josephus allowing to each Legion but a hundred and twenty horse, it was an oversight, and thus much of the number of soldiers in a Legion, which we are to understand at the first enrollment when it's entire, not diminished by warre, or misfortune, nor contrariwise through ambition overcharged. Caesar in the civil warre after Caesar's death, two Legions in Africae had a thousand horse annexed, the ancient proportion being seming, an hundred was, too few. Under the Empire, as it may be gathered by Vegetius, fixe hundred at the least were matriculated in a Legion, and fixe hundred and fixy where prima colors was militia, before fixe hundred Decurions: summ, seven hundred twenty thousand comprehending the officers. As for ' Josephus allowing to each Legion but a hundred and twenty horse, it was an oversight, and thus much of the number of soldiers in a Legion, which we are to understand at the first enrollment when it's entire, not diminished by warre, or misfortune, nor contrariwise through ambition overcharged. Caesar in the civil warre after Caesar's death, two Legions in Africae had a thousand horse annexed, the ancient proportion being seming, an hundred was, too few.
Young, and does not denote the same officers, that is, Decuriones, three chosen out of every Turma, whereof the first should be soldiers, and the third name is unknown. From this division a Legion into ten Cohorts is not mentioned in Polybus, and therefore, as Linnik, was not usual

...before his age. For although the words be not unknown to ancient times, so Livy, in other times in his former books, unless he speaks by a figure, and to Polybus likewise twice in the eleventh booke, expressly and by name

...in the warre of Scipio in Spain, yet then adventure it was rather certaine. The Turmae are, however, termed centuriae, and be closely compared with them. This division of a Legion into ten Cohorts is not mentioned in Polybus, and therefore as Linnik, was not usual.

...it is peculiar to the Legionary Cohorts were equall of five hundred a piece where the Legion was five thousand, and more where more, yet in Vegenetus time, or at least in his Legion, the first Cohorts contained a thousand, and the rest but five hundred. For in his rebus, as St Evins faith, æs off a temporis ruramen, at the summer.

...Polybus: 

...for the Legions in the army; which was not mentionned in Polybus, and therefore, as I think, was not usual.

...the Generals council, to have the custody of the Eagle or Standard of the Legion, to solis he, sycyrr, the Generals council, to have the custody of the Eagle or Standard of the Legion, to solis he, sycyrr, opponents, faith.
will needs have two of Polybius Decurions reckoned among the common horsemen, the third he might more justly have named with Polybius Prefectus Turmae, then Decurio. So have we in Polybius Legion trinigma Decuriones, whereof ten were Decurors in Vegetius twenty two Decurors, or in more reasonable speech, and more according to his own principles fifty six. Of any higher office ordinary over the Legionary horsemen then Prefectus Turmae, I finde no mention in the Popular or Imperial Legion, the horse in general being, I suppose, under the direction of the Dictator, or governor: the same which is in Polybius called, as I suppose, the Prefecti. Paulus ex Festo, in re militari Optio apparatissas in quam decurionum, aut centurionum optas, rurum privatis effe militariiones, quae faculata publicae officia, Optio, ius Fefus, qui adiutor debat centurionis a tribu militarium. So called, quae centurionum praefatuus et optarit quem velis, where, as it seems, he omitted his charge among horsemen, as Varro lib. a. de lim. Eut, dot among foot. Quos decuriones (fash he) primo administroris optas adiuvant, Optiones centurii caps in quos none propriis administrum tribunicali.

Thus much of the Legionary fouldiers, among whom none were inrolled but eis Roman omni, ingenui, astra judiciae, experts. As touching the first point it is clear in story, that many hundred yeares together all the decurors were.r

...
Rome served in the Roman camp. Varro lib. 4. de ling. Lat. Auxilia,ae appellatus ab alius, comm. accrescitur, qui adije. minuo effete; alius, alius. The first 1. speaks of those from which the Romans used were of the Alban in Tullius Hostilius time. Dionys. lib. 3. and Anna Alba the head and mother Cius of the Liners being razed, they challenged as conquerors that superior to the Latins nation, which the Albans before had emperied. In the time of and

quintus Priscus the figures served in the Roman as Aides against the Herulii, and against the Sabine, the Herulii and the Latins. In the first file: many hundred years, the Latins only and Hetrini minished Auxilia gremium armamentum. For archers and funditores and bronc auxilia of other nations they did not refuted some time to admit. But the third Punis worse they admitted also. Auxilia ex foed. Italia populare republica. And after that time we find sometimes mention, but no great reckoning made in the free state of Auxiliaries. The reason, as it take, was that the easy being communicated to the Latins and Italian alike for all. Also, they were not longer in qualia of Auxilia, being now involved with the right of Legionary Service. Augustus and the Emperors fuming the limits of the Empire with armies, and furnishing the Legions only in a manner of provincial Citizens, established Auxilia again, supplied out of their allies and subjects abroad, and generally out of all nations indifferently, making acquainted the barbarous people, and ancient enemies of the Empire with their maintenance of service, not without notable prejudice to the state. In Tacitus under the first Emperors we have in the Roman camp Auxiliaries. Transfusaria, Gallia, Britannia, Numidia, Batavia. et cetera, and under the later Emperors no militar matter in the whole Empire passed thow or other than barbarous bands, till at length the Romans, as great service was, were forced to deliver the Empire to them, to whom had delivered their arms. Theod. of faith. Zulam. ex urb. urb. romanorum auxilium.
Legions had three thousand and Auxiliarie horsemen. Of these Cohorts of Auxiliarie footmen the Governors in later times also were called Prefecti; and the wings of horsemen likewise in later times had their Prefecti severally from the foot, of which in Polybius we finde no mention. In Wings the under captains, as in the Legionary, were named Decuriones. Of the number 1 cannot affirm: only it is seemingly probable, that the Prefecti then were according to the number of the Cohorts and Wings, and the Decuriones, as in the Legion, three in a Turma consisting of thirty horsemen: To conclude this point, although the Imperiall Auxilia seem not to observe always one flint, as by the examples alleged may be averred, yet taking two Wings and eight Cohorts for the Auxilia of a Legion, these things presupposed which we have set down, the Legion Imperiall with her Auxilia amounteth to twelve thousand perfoins fix thousand Legionarie footmen, fix hundred horsemen, four thousand eight hundred Auxiliarie footmen, and six hundred Auxiliarie horsemen, summe twelve thousand. Vegetius out of other particulars collecteth the same result. Thus Legio, saith hemmixt is auxiliis, hoc est decem milliapeditum & duomiæquitum. Whereof six thousand one hundred footmen, and seven hundred twenty six horse according to his principles being Legionarie, there remaineththree thousand and nine hundred foot, and twelve hundred fourteen horse for the Auxiliarie; or in round numbers 4,000 foot, and 1,100 horse, approaching near to the ancient proportion in Polybius of double the Legionarie horse. At the enrolment the names were impoited to the Legions Primæ, Secundæ, Tertiiæ, as they were in order of muttering first, second, or third. Which custom, it is suppose, was imposed in his temporal times, and in the invention thereof nothing is so exact as to the number of the names. Dionysius lib. 48. were in order of mustering first, second, or third. Which custom, as I suppose, continued in his first institution. After the enrolment followed the great mystery of the Roman estate, saith Herodian, sacramentum militare, the very forme and essence of a soldiers, without which first solemnly taken, or after the expiration of which, as upon the calling of the Legions, though qualified otherwise never so well, though present in the camp, it was not lawful for any to kill, or wound, or preface himself in fight against the enemy. This oath Polybius conçoeth the same, and saith, Hæc ubi in hæc tempora, lata est, etc. In the place of Livy before quoted mention is also made of a voluntary 4 congregation, quæ potest, fate he ex voluntario inter militibus fieræ et legitionibus juramentis et decimis, etc. The form of it was FVCIAT ATE FORMIDINIS SERVORVM NON AVBTRROSES SEB EN ORDINE RECESSEROS, VISETI BLOMENDI AVT PETENDI, AVT HOSTIS GERI GENERI, AVT CIVIS SERNANDA CAVS. A faire this oath I finde another oath tendered, which we may call the oath of allegiance and sovereignitie. Whether it was use before the Emeritour times, or not, I do not remember. It may be they swore then in Senatus populus; Romanæ nationes, as afterward they did in Principit. Arrianus conceiveth the form of it thus; H MHN Y WNTIÆN APTUON THN TOT KATIFRAZ PAS, etc. That they should prefer before all the sovereignty of the Prince. Marcus Antonius in his funeral oration in Appian spoken tendereth and of it his Prefet, whom they had sworn to D. Julius. H MHN Y TANIA X KAI XAR, KAI TOT TOT KAI TAP OMA, PANTI TANPI TANR, H BUIT ÔHÓBEURS X ERBAS CHINAI TOTI M APT NATAZ ATT. That is, that they all with their might would guard the person of Caesar, according all those that should not defend him, if any attempt should happen to be made against him, Suet. Caio cap. 12. addeth this formal clause, namque me libros novos curare hucque quaum Caesar & forseres ejus. The military oaths the soldiery of course as well Auxiliarie as Legionarie received before their first enrolment, Romanæ origo, &c. The oath of sovereignitie the soldier, the magistrate, senare and people of Rome and of the Provencies, made untainted with some little diverses according to the quality of the persons, received at the creation of a new Prince whensoever it happeneth, and upon the anniversarie thereof fracturing increasing, and every years likewise the king reneweth the same the first day of January: as what time the magistrates and Senatours also particularly swore in def of the present Prince & of his predecessors, and only excepted sequam autem aut memoriam, as in Caesar time and afterward they were not sworn in def of the Tiberi, nor in Claudius in def the Caes. The Roman manner of encamping according to Polybius and other ancient Writers is represented in the figure following.
Extraordinary Pedes
Extraordinary Equites
Auxilia externa

FORVM
PRETORIVM
PROSTORIVM
SUFFRAG. (Sedes ad Pedes)
Suffr. ad Equites

PRINCIPALIS

CIVITAS

Tavernacula Secundae Legiones
Tavernacula Prima Legiones
<p>Praetorium</p>

A square plot, every side containing two hundred foot, for the Generals lodging, and his train: the ground so chosen might be fairest both for prospect and direction. A fret of fifty foot broad, leading from the middle of the Praetorium to the gate H. At the top of this street directly opposite to the former, and of the same breadth, leading from the Praetorium to the gate K. at the bottom of the page. Of the right hand of which street was lodged one Legion with her Auxilia, and another of the left. Now from the Praetorium toward K. measuring out an hundred and fifty foot employed to ues elsewhere, we are to begin the lodgings of the common fouldiers.</p>

Decem Turna equitum a row of lodgings for the horsemen of the first Legion divided into ten partitions. According to the number of Turna in Polybiius Legion, which consiste, as before declared, of three hundred horse, and seven hundred and two hundred foot. The first Turna being quartered in the lodgings nearest to the Praetorium, and the rest in order toward the gate K. These lodgings lie in length and open upon the street c. c. c. each side being an hundred foot, so that to one horseman they allowed a standing equal to a square somewhat more then eighteen foot every way. Decem ordinis Traianorum Ten lodgings for the ten orders, or Decem ordinis primo Legiones with their c. Centinarias and under officers;joying back to back with the lodgings of the Equites, and opening into the street c. c. c. of fifty foot broad: primus Pileus being quartered next to the Praetorium, and so in consequence toward the gate K. where all the Decem ordinis doe lodge. Every one of these lodgings in length an hundred foot; in bredth fifty, lodgeth sixty Triaedri, and a ratable part of Unati, which, considering the proportion that one of the Ordines Traianorum beareth to one of the Ordines Principium et Hispanorum, and the number of Pilates in Polybiius Legion, fell out to be twenty four per sons. According to which reckoning to one foeman they allowed a standing equal to a square somewhat more then eight foot every way. Of the other side of the street c. c. c. the lodgings of the Decem ordinis Principium unam Legionem, and at their backs the lodgings of the Decem ordinis Hispanorum opening the one into the street c. c. c. the other into the street f. f. f. being also fifty foot broad. Each side containing an hundred foot, and lodgeth an hundred and twenty (six ordinis, and forty eight Pilates beside: proportionally as in tabernaculis Traiani, we had for half so many men half so much ground. Of the other side of the street c. c. c. are the lodgings of the Auxiliares equitum in decem curna, and at their backs the lodgings of the Auxiliares pedites in decem curna, the horse opening into the street f. f. f. the foot into the void places between the lodgings and the trenches, of which we shall have occasion to speake anon. Now the Equites auxiliares of a Legion (the Exceptional Band being deducted) amounting according to Polybiius to fourscore hundred horse, and allowing to three hundred thirty Sentinel lodging of a hundred foot every way, we are to allow to these, following the same proportion, tenne lodgings each a hundred foot in length (for that way we may not increase them) and a hundred fifty in breadth, to make the one as conveniently lodged as the other. And so Polybiius expresseth himself in these words: At seque multum aequum, non magnum, a tum quadruncem, scilicet decem ordinum et unam auxiliares, que in singulis hinc et illinc, sicque in suis auxiliares. That is, Framing their camp, the lodgings of the Auxiliaries horse they made equal to the Legionary in length, increasing the bredth proportionally to the number. Likewise the footmen after the deduction of the Exceptional Band being three thousand three hundred fifty, that is three hundred thirty five persons for ever lodging, seeing as the lodgings in length are but a hundred foot, we must make them in brede two hundred, twice as broad as the lodgings of the Principes et Hispani, seeing they contain twice as many men. Forso Polybiius warranteth us here also, obseruandum in eadem. That is, To increase the bredth proportionally.</p>

Upon the left hand of the street c. c. c. are the lodgings of the second Legion with her Auxilia in the same proportion and order in all points with the first. And so have we the breadth of the camp from the utmost Auxiliary of the one Legion to the like of the other a thousand six hundred fifty foot, or three hundred thirty pace, accounting five foot for a pace. Via Quintana: is a street fifty five foot broad, passing from side to side thorow the whole breadth of the lodgings, fo named a quinqua ordinibus which quarter all upon it. In this street, sitting in the middle of the fouldiers quarter, and therefore fittest for such a purpose, was a market, for admission of the ground. 

Now of the hundred fifty foot, which so named are the between the fouldiers quarter and the Praetorium, a hundred foot was the breadth of Via Principis, of which street, faith Polybiius, for the most part was such land that it should be fairest and handsomest, because it was the usual place of rest for the fouldiers in the daytime. In the other fifty foot toward the Praetorium was a row of lodgings opening upon Via Praetorii. Each lodging bearing every way fifty foot, for the twelve Tribunis et twelve Praefessis; their traine, horse and carriage a. a. a. a. a. a. are the lodgings of the first Tribunus of the first Legion, the first lodging answering directly to the Legionary horsemen quarter, and the last to the street f. f. f. with pagelles between of thirty foot b. b. b. b. are the lodgings of the Praefessi, (whom as fecemes Polybiius had forgotten to lodge) answering precisely to the breadth of the Auxiliary quarter, with a voide space of fifty foot between the third and fourth tent. And so of the other side for those of the other Legion, a voide space of fifty foot being left at to answer the street c. c. c. A crooked street before the Praetorium being a hundred foot broad, where I suppose was settled the watch mentioned by Polybiius: mihi igitur nonnullus pater argutius, utque quae sine scriptura, quae supponis, mea sint. That is, Every day one Ensigne by course keepeth watch and ward at the Generals pavilion, both for the safety of his person, and majesty of his place. 

Extraordinarii Equites, et Extraordinarii Pedites: A plot of a hundred and fifty foot in length (for so it will fall out if we make the whole ground for the lodgings, as we must, perfectly square) and four hundred and fifty in breadth, answering to the Quaestorium and part of the Praetorium for the Exceptional Band of the
the Auxilia prime Legionis, consisting of two hundred horse, and eight hundred forty foot (some selected out of them only excepted, which are lodged elsewhere) the footmen quartering toward the trenches, and the horse toward the camp. And do of the other side for the other Legion.

Auxilia exterma a plot of the same length, and in breadth three hundred and fifty foot, for the foraine Aydes such as by occasion come in.

1. Selecti as voluntaries Equites, and Selecti as voluntaries pedester: A plot of two hundred foot in length, and three hundred fifty in breadth, with the selected out of the extraordinary band of the Auxilia prime Legionis, are placed, foot quartering toward the trenches, and the horse toward the P R A T O R I V M: and do of the other side for the other Legion, being in both places for voluntary men, which upon kined or friendship, or other respects follow the General. Thse Selecti and Voluntarii do not only, faith Polybius, quarter near the General, but also in marching, and all at other times of any service are continually attendant upon the General and the Quaestor, in the nature peradventure of a of ous Praetoria.

P R A T O R I V M: a plot of two hundred foot in length and three hundred seventy five in breadth, for the Quaestor and his train with their treasure and provision, for the pioners, carpenters, smiths, armory, &c. with their toiles and officer. There was also the Aquaeulum, imperium, and peradventure the publicke prono.

F O R V M: a plot equal in both denumions to the Q V A R S T O R I V M. Here was the place of publick amble, and the Tribunall with the seat of office. Here alo in likelihood were these Saeux, Sctars, whereas Jofephus maketh mention, on which the Tribunes and Cenurions fite in judgement to decide the controversies happening between the fouldiers. In the F O R V M allo the Eagles and Ensignes of the Legions with their bearers aquilardi and Simulacrum, certain images of the gods, in lattire times of the Prince and his children, and some times of his great favorites also, were quartered. Tactus 15, Annal. describing a solemn assembly in that place, India, faith he goes.

imprimis leges leges sine figura, sine figura imaginibus aquilari simulacrom aquilari simulacros in modum templi, in modum templi. Medium Tribunali curium, curium, & sedes efigium Mercurii, Eiusdem. The Eagles, except peradventure in time of assemblies, stood in little Chappells, Dio lib. 4, 6, 7, & 8, 27, 28, 29, & 30, et epeo, &c. et epeo, epeo, epeo. That is, in all the Roman armies there is a little cellomm, and in it a golden Eagle both hand. The Ensignes were placed sub diebus, and indeed, being certaine long speares covered with silver with the Princes image hanging upon them under the Empire, they could hardly be set of and un-set. And yet Herodians lib. 4, feth to place them all in one cellom. That is, He sate downe in the chappell where the sones were sent.

feriae, que, si vis, siti, ut, &c. sedes, sedes, sedes. That is, He sate downe in the chappell where the sones were sent.

The use of this void room is for the commodious entring and issuing of the Legions, for the safc custody of the toile, which is raised for defense about the campes: in which certaine flakes called Vallum were pitched with two or three, or fourt forked heads to clothe and wreathe one within another, and were for that purpose prepared and carried by the Tribunes and Prætorians, and afterwards use when the wall was the whole P R A T O R I V M. und decemvie Principii trium legionum manum adserant. And in some other places of the same Tactus this word Principia seems to be a yold voidroom of two hundred foot broad, round about between the lodgings and the trench.

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Chapell which is raised for defence about the campes: in which certaine flakes called Vallum were pitched with two, three, or four forked heads to clothe and wreathe one within another, and were for that purpose prepared and carried by the Tribunes and Prætorians, and afterwards use when the wall was the whole P R A T O R I V M. und decemvie Principii trium legionum manum adserant. And in some other places of the same Tactus this word Principia seems to be a yold voidroom of two hundred foot broad, round about between the lodgings and the trench.

P O R . S. J. Arbor, or Valuem Aquæorum, the trench which compassed the whole campe. Arbor signifies generally cælificarebet esse rei accommodare, as one of the Grammarians faith, is hire appropriated to that mount of earth which is raised for defence about the campes in which certaine flakes called Vallum were pitched with two, three or four forked heads to clothe and wreathe one within another, and were for that purpose prepared and carried by the Tribunes and Prætorians, and afterwards use when the wall was the whole P R A T O R I V M. und decemlie Principii trium legionum manum adserant. And in some other places of the same Tactus this word Principia seems to be a yold voidroom of two hundred foot broad, round about between the lodgings and the trench.

Q. N. N. N. &c. a vold room of two hundred foot broad, round about between the lodgings and the trench.

The use of this void room is for the commodious entring and issuing of the Legions, for the safc custody of the toile, which is raised for defense about the campes: in which certaine flakes called Vallum were pitched with two, three, or four forked heads to clothe and wreathe one within another, and were for that purpose prepared and carried by the Tribunes and Prætorians, and afterwards use when the wall was the whole P R A T O R I V M. und decemlie Principii trium legionum manum adserant. And in some other places of the same Tactus this word Principia seems to be a yold voidroom of two hundred foot broad, round about between the lodgings and the trench.
in this case we are rather to believe. Now that Praetoria was nearest to the enemy, and Documenta further off, it is evident by Caesar li, 3, de bell. civ. Pompeius, faith he, anno aetatis suo diebus, in situ etiamibus quis in itinere ad Praetoriam posito posuit, claris, inquis, Caesar. And immediately after: Pompeius cum intra muni- tum noli veniretur, equum nulius Documenta portum se ex aequo efficiat. That Praetoria was the foregate, and Documenta the backgate, it appears by the place of Livy above alluded, lib. 10, de iure saeclorum Documenta pra ipsum fuisset fallax: and yet Polybius calleth the side where K. Flaminus perpetually did sit, amongst the Roman soldiers. That is, the forefront of the camp; and that other wherein H. Flaminus did sit, amongst the enemy. The backside of the camp, as I think, only by way of supposition and deducenda, because in his description of the lodgings he beginneth at the Praetorium, and proceedeth on forward toward Porta Documenta.

Thus have we a description for two of Polybius ordinary Legions with their Auxiliaris, which was the ordinary army of one Confluent: a camp perfectly square, not as the Grecians (although if Frontinus say true, the Romans took this whole learning of Pyrrhus a Grecian) who framed their camp according to the ground, whereas the Romans framed the ground to their camp, and distinguishing with streets and passages in so good an order, that a man might as readily find his place there, as his own house in the town where he was borne. The whole

perimeter within the trenches amounted to eight thousand two hundred feet, or one thousand five hundred fifty paces: the trenches amounted to eight thousand two hundred feet, or one thousand five hundred fifty paces: every side, according to the polities already laid, containing two thousand fifty foot. Now when the Legions were much fuller then ordinary, in lodging both horse and foot, the partitions were made proportionally bigger as well in length as breadth, and so the square figure well retained. But if the Auxilia did exceed, first one quartum facerem, and then the other, the Turmata were made proportionately bigger as well in length as breadth also, and so the square figure well retained. But if the Auxilia did exceed, first they contrived the Turmata, and then the other partitions, as it may feme, in this case, between the Tribunes and fouldiers lodgings in the same quantity of ground as before, and with convenient streets on both sides.

The General Officer over the Campe was called Prefectuus Castrorum: who to whose charge appartained to stake out the Campe and see it kept sweet, to appoint and order the trenches and ditch, to quarter the fouldiers with their carriage and lodging, to provide dyet and physicke for the sickes, and pay the Physitian, &c. Particularly over the Smiths, Carpenters, and other artificers, with the Enginors, and such like, the officer was called Prefetd uus. Both of them, as I think, lodged in QVAESTORIUM, where it is likely the Leged legions also were quartered, and in the free state the Legati confulari

Afonse as ever the tents were pitched, and camp settled, all which followed the Campe both bond and free received an oath called faramumus castris: which according to Polybius was, MAREM D E SPBBDO- AND KABYTIS, A A A A KAN E B T I O D I Q V A S T O R I U M, ET

That is, That he should stealing nothing out of the campe, but if any happened to find ought he should carry it to the Tribunes lib. 6, and in another place he toucheth this matter of greater importance, concerning the just representation of the spoile in the sackings of cities, an account most profitably induced, whether the spoile were to be served at publicke use, or else divided among the fouldiers, whereof the worst sort are commonly most nimble that way. But chiefly it flayed the minds of those, who by the Generals commandement remained in armes in the market place against all sudden mischances of warre, being assured thereby of equal part with the rich in the prey which should be taken otherways. Autis * Grauis etruxerit the very formes of the oath done in more particular terms one of Caesius de re militari: In exercitu decemque milium piafuum propius sunt faciis deos malo facere, quod cum maiori pluribus manu militicae dixit. Exstare habem, habile, ligna, pabulum, vomem, faltem, faculam, si quid hic invenies quod nemini angemini deis fuerit, ut ad Caff. post quoad quam altero super perfuerat, ad perficere in tristius, proximo quodquidem invenisse falsaque fide propius malo, et dominus suo curam in certe effe reserat, ut ad rege falsaque fide statis.

In service the Legionaire fouldiers had allowance of pay, cornre and apparell: and at the end of his service a conformation in money, or land of inheritance, and sometimes both. For the pay Livy writeth thus: Amo

The footman Polius limeth in the sixth book, at least as it was in his time, assigning a footman the third part of a drachme, or two obols by the day, which Polybius in another place relebestos into four obols, to a Centurion twice so much, to a headman a drachme, or Roman denarius then current for twelve obols. This pay continued, as I suppose, in this form till Caesar's time, qui legemmodum fidemposi in perpetuum deparet. Suetonius Julio ci, that the footmen had by the day eight obols, the Centurion extreme, the horse twenty four. Augustus increaseth the footmen pay to ten obols a day, and as it seemeth shortly after it referre to a full denarius. Besides wages the fouldiers received in later times velcomm de publice, as it were some livery garment, not all his apparell, as I suppose. Plutarchus Gracchus, among the lawses which were established by C. Gracchus, one day he, ut semper, nullius fidei, idem vopem, inquit, hominum, pro vincio quidem inquit, nonnulla iuris corporis partis diem malo, et dominum suo curam in certe effe remis, ut ad rege falsaque fide voles.

In the free state, Salut.
The Roman legions were a key part of the Roman Empire's military strategy and played a crucial role in its expansion and defense. The size and composition of the legions varied over time, with adjustments made to adapt to changing military needs and political circumstances. The legions were typically organized into units of 5,000 to 6,000 soldiers, each led by a centurion, and were stationed throughout the empire, from the borders to the capital. The legions were equipped with armor, weapons, and military supplies, and were trained to fight in a disciplined and coordinated manner. The size and strength of the legions were often a source of pride for the Roman people, who saw them as a symbol of their power and influence. However, the costs associated with maintaining such a large military force were significant, and the Roman government had to carefully manage its resources to ensure the continued success of the legions.
...for of the women above three hundred thousand. Now half of the cense, or a quarter of the heads in common intendment being accounted men of the field, we may probably conclude, that the state of Rome in those days was able to put twelve thousand, or not much lefe in armes. Amo urbis conditae 360. Quantum nonnumquam ante exercitum, faith Livy lib. 2. legiones decem effe. Dionysius addeth 400000 mensae. That is, each of them consisting of 4000 men, so that the Romans had in that year actually forty thousand men of themselves, without the auxili of the Latin nation, whom it was not thought convenient as yet, to erect another armes. In the war of the Decemviricontra Sabinos & Aeques ten Legions were levied condemnantes scientiam. havother allies, Dionysius lib. 11. Sumne eighty thousand. Amo ab urbe condita 486. Upon the revolt of the Latin nation, the Romans armed forty thousand footmen, and three thousand horse. Livius lib. 8. "Philique non ultra tuam vastam, sed tamen aperit juveniles, d eum legiones trito decimatu, quartum milium annis deorum pudium, equestris quattuor annum, quem nuntium novum exercitum, fi qua externa munitione, ut viderit P. M. au summa terrae capita civitas controlle in semnum hand facie efficaciam, adeo in quos labores creantium, divisiones luxuriant. Between the first and second warre Punick, at what time the cense of the Catoens pecked about a thousand, a full view being taken of the forces of them and their allies in Italy, they were found, as Polybius reporteth, above seven hundred thousand footmen able to bear armes, and seventy thousand horse; an incredible number, if we compare it with later ages: and produced by Diodorus Sic. Biblioth. to confirm the admirable populous of Lebanon of ancient times notwithstanding that Caesar, as Appian writeth, in few years fought in France with four millions of men, a number comparable with Xerxes armes, which dripped with drinking the rivers, failed the mountains, bridged the sea, as stories and Panegyricksmake us believe. Amo urbis cond. 539 & 539. & 544. in the second Punick warre, the Roman armes armed twenty three Legions, which according to the count of that time riphertext to an hundred and five thousand Legions, and almost one thousand horse. After the third Punick warre, in which time the cense was about four hundred thousand, in bella social the Romans armed an hundred thousand, and the face, as many on the contrary side, beside sufficient garrisons in their several Cities. Appian ton. 1. In the civil warre of Syria the Confuls had two hundred Cohorts of five hundred pieces, & Sylla twenty three Legions, which Appian refolrith into an hundred and twenty thousand on horse, and twenty thousand on foot. In the Civil warre between Pompey and Caesar, about which time the cense amounted to four hundred and fifty thousand, Pompey had fifty thousand horse and five hundred men, Caesar eighty Cohorts, in which were but twenty thousand and two Cohorts praedicta libri 3. de bello civilis. After Caesar death when the peace was made at Mutina to trouble the state, Otho's had twenty two Legions: Antonine twenty: Brutus eight: Caius twelve: Lepidus three: Dolabella two, and at least one in Africa. Summe frate fix: all at one time: which following the rate set down in Antonius orationis, & Sylla (an hundred and seventy thousand) and twenty eight Legions) in fifty six brings out better then four hundred thousand, the greatest reckoning actually in armes that we read of in the Roman state. After the civil wars ended, Augustus settling the state, and removing armies out of Italy, established in the provinces and limits of the Empire. 8 Legions with their Auxilia, that is, according to the Positions already laied, two hundred seventy six thousand footsolders. Tiberius maintained twenty five Legions, that is, three hundred thousand footsolders, placing in the two Germanies eight Legions: in Spain three: Africa two: Syrens four: Illyricum fix: to wit, two in Pannonia, two in Moesia, two in Dalmatia, Summe twenty five. In Gallicae time the state maintained one and thirty Legions.

In Britannie (c) theere, Secunda (d) Augusta. None Hispanien. Secunda (g) Vindonix. Vercellens (h) Sexta (i) Ferrara. (k) Decima (l) Gemina.

In Spaine two, (m) Lusitania one, (n) Prima (o) Italica. (p) Quarta (q) Macedonica. (r) Decimaquinta, alias Doceveciesima. (s) Vercellensis (t) Reagus. (u) Piusa. Quinta.

In Gallia (m) Germany three, Decimquinta. Decimaquinta.

In Low Germany four, (v) Gebria. (w) Tredacium Gemina. (x) Vindecissa (y) Claudiana. (z) Quartacemia, Gemina.

In Pannonia two, (a) Terria Gallica. (b) S. piusa Claudiana. 
In Dalmatia two, Oclava Augultus.

In Mosia three, (c) Terria Augultus.

In Africa one, Terria in Augusta.

In Egypt two, (d) Terria Cyrenensis. (e) Duocveciesima Primigenia. (f) Quarta (g) Scythica. (h) Sexta (i) Vindonex.

In Syria four, Duocvecies (j) Fulminatrix. (k) Vercellens, if the place be not corrupt in Dio, that there were two of that name continued from Augultus to his time.
Legions considered alone. This number of Legions or thereabout we find retained many years in the Roman Empire. For Favorinus de Hadriano apud Spartianum. N°n re: fædaretis, familiares, quin non pātiminime illum omnibus mult: Augustus death: for although two of them beareth the name of Claudius, Undecima Claudiana in this Catalogue of the seven Legions of Germany, in Viceſimadecima, Septima Galbiana, and the Viceſima which we have placed in Syria. Now thirty one Legions Imperial, which in Galba's time we do find, according to our suppositions contain an hundred eighty six thousand footmen, and eighteen thousand and six hundred horse. The Auxilia of the one kind and of the other in number not much other wise. So we have in these times usually maintained by the Empire, footmen three hundred seventy two thousand, and horse thirty seven thousand and two hundred at the smallest reckoning. Who's ordinary pay, besides corn and some apparel, at one denarius or a drachm a day, and in the same manner, besides the increase of wages given to the officers, amounts to the year to a hundred and forty five millions five hundred fourteen thousand and twenty, in our money five millions five hundred sixteen thousand and fifty two pounds and ten shillings: which is more then the great Turk at this day receiveth in two years toward all charges. And yet they maintained besides a Guard of many thousands for the Prince with double pay, another for the Victory of the City, with many Cohorts of Night watchers, and many armies with proper soldiers annexed, so as be declared. Neither can we finde through all the Roman story for lack of pay any disorder or mutiny to have grown among the soldiers, though otherwise very mutinously disposed.

In this Catalogue Prima Italica of Gallia Lugdunensis, Prima Adiutrix at Rome, and Septima Galbiana of Pannonia were confedered by Nero and Galba. The seven Legions of Germany, Dux et vicecum of Egypt, and Nona of Britannia were established by Tiburianus, or Claudius, or peradventure some of them in the latter times of Augustus. All the other nineteen were undoubtedly founded by Augustus, and in six years before Augustus death: for albeit two of them bear the name of Claudius, Vindelicis Claudinius in this Catalogue of Dalmatia, and Septima Claudiana of Moesia, it was not because Claudius was their founder, but as Dio Sith...
ancient times, which commonly consisted of mercenary strangers. And so the Emperors had also another Guard of Germans: Tacitus 1. Annal. rob. Germanorum qui tum cuspidenti imperatori aduent. 13. Annal. Germani longe morem domum eunudis additis. Sueton. k Nerone, adhuc equitum militem & Germanorum statione. Which Guard Gallus dissolved. Suet. cap. 12. Germanorum eunuchi ad Caesarium olim ad eunudis eumdem imperiis inutilis experimentis, sive, illud, illud, minimas effe; quas ad ius, nulla, commenda remissi, in patriam. Dio lib. 44. maketh mention also of certaine hornemen of Britanni in the Rhine, but the number of them I cannot precisely ferdowne. One of Pretorian eunuch was hornemen, Tacit. 1. Annal. Additae magnae periphrasis temporibus equitum. Sueton. Claudio cap. 51. Africanae exhibebat, Claudius confederavit, servum, qui ... quibus praetornum, decibus Tribunum ipsoque prefettos. Moll footmen, as Speculatores, and other. Their proper office was disgraced, (and also they are called of the Greek writers diogenes, and demblexarch.) to watch and ward at the Palace every Cohort in his turne, or to accompany the Prince abroad in Forum, or curiam, or curia. Tac. 1. Hist. Consessione princeps tantorum animam cohortis, quo in Palatin stationem essegesset. And againe. Annal. 8. Egedatmum Quae ad eunuchum quod aem tum militiam adhibebat. Sueton. 1. Histone: Officieritter eunuchus quod tum eunudes. Sueton. 1. Annal. Maligne in forum, mola in curiam coemeteram Diol. 8, in eum spes eunuchae morte, eximiam conditorum, cap. 8. That is, at banquets Claudius had always some men attending upon him, which comte begun by him is continued even to this day. And not only the Prince himself, but his wife, mother and children had likewise some of these Pretorian eunuches attending upon them. Tacit. 12. Annal. Eunuchus guardes, qui aegros imperatoris olim, tum & materfamilia, degred. 15. With Germanicus in Germany were duo eunuchorum principes. Eunuchus, whether of the body of the Roman guard, or after the ancient use of the word, 1. I cannot determine. Annal. 12. Augustus and Tiberius tendeth with his fons Drusus and Pannonia duo pretorianus cohortes. At the places I finde that a Cohort was led to keep good order. Tacit. 12. Annal. Steppe eunuchus, quod fuit demum pretorianus. Moreover in accompanying Embassadors sent from the Prince, in doing executions and murders, and many other servicable points, they were by the Prince employed. In the war but feldome upon urgent occasions Tacit. 1. Hist. Quid tardo alias Pretorianis, urbanoque multis in accert dehiti. Of the Pretorian Foldiers the principal officers were called Prefettis pretore, Captains of the Guard wecametary them, chosen at the first at out of milites, till upon the danger discovered that way, how unsafe it was to put such strength into mens hands of that quality though of mean birth whom to have in later times and skill in law was in that chace rather respected, as is appeare in several, 1. Quinip, Vipan, and other famous Lawyers preferred to that roome: by means of whom peradventure the place became in the end more judicall then militari. 2. While at this time the greatest office in the state. Zosim.lib. 3. Euno ... pretorianus eunuchs, one of the guardes.
The Romans with their ships should not pass the point called Ladinium; which sheweth that the Romans had not.

That is, let there be a Prefettus urbis one of the greatest countenance, and such as before had pass'd all degrees of honour with commendation, not to govern in absence of other officers, but to undertake the government of the city both in other matters, and namely to judge in cases of appeals from other magistrates, and in criminal not one only within the city, but within the whole round about.

His office dued for life, unless he pleased the Prince otherwise upon desire or displeasure to deprive him. Dio. lib. 50. and 60. Annotations.

The city of Rome though opportunely seated for sea matters, as being distant only fifteen miles from mare Tyscanum, and having the river of Tiber passing thorow the city of convenient breadth, & for depth able to carry small vessels, nevertheless many hundred years neglected the service. Which thing peradventure among others was not the least cause which maintained the state in integrity, and preferred it so long without corruptions, of which the traffick, and service by sea, as the Politicks make us believe, is the principal mother and nurser. Notwithstanding a considerable navigation, and they which will live i; } avrorngiu. must necessarily have aerurus, and have their camps in the city and pay of the state.

and yet to say true, seenothow great an alteration the city of Rome both in other matters, and especially despise the Roman state, and utterly disfurnished, although perhaps it cannot in all attain to that degree of perfections, which some of their neighbours have attained unto. Wherefore the Romans in the first Punck warre having to deal with the Carthagenians undoubted Lords of the sea, in argall. That is, of a long time even from their ancesstors, and perceiving the thing of their shipwrecks, and the occasion of wit. And it is certain that the Romans had not so great a ship, as they would have had if they had been able to increase it, for the expense.

That is, that without the tide, as it is certain that the Romans had not so great a ship, as they would have had if they had been able to increase it, because of the Carthaginians not having gone up in the river to keep their time and measurement in strokes. And this was indeed the first time the Romans attempted the Conquest of the sea, and so far as they attempted it, there was scarce two bars can pass one by another. And a little not altogether free from the humour, in his former books makes solution mention of the navis, of Prefettus urbis ad Leventinum, faciis navaliis, and his forsoth, which either were not all, or not to any purpose of warre. For as concerning men of merchandise and commerce, and may be said of whatsoever the country about did afford, but by that means was with such usages, and provided alfo of sea commodities. Dionysius L.1. And yet to say true, I see not how that opinion of Polytius in the epistle

that there was an ancient league with the Tarentines, and that the Romans had the us.
Then that the Roman Daunia went with ten navis (the) tides to survey the coasts of magna Grecia, whereof of four were funk, one taken, and the Daunia plain. But whether now first or otherwise, the Romans upon the occasion before entering the seas brought the great from their service by land. Faith Polybius, a kind of violent proceeding, as though winds and weather notwithstanding, what once they had determined to do, that they must necessarily go through with all. Which manner of contending and striving or rather enforcing of Fortune, as it is by land contending, and so the Romans had been case of infinite good, so by sea against that which was more harm, then their enemies the Carthaginians did, who although through their long experience by sea they excelled the Romans in skill and agility, yet of Romani, of, eis the. That is, At handy strokes in grappling, and value of soulers being inferior, they were at the length inferior in the whole.

Ships, as far as concerned our purpose, were of three forts of war, of burden, and of passage: the first rowed with oar, the second governed with sail, and the last often rowed with cords. Ships of passage by sea, were either for transportation of men, or corumne; or of corumnes or of houres, 6 leg. from a river, or some more our adventure by sea, - one, or the number were few, and to passe whole armies with their carriage, ratis, rants, plants or vagis tied together. Ships of burden, or corumne, pons, in badois, and were used in war, for the Roman warre, in that warre for example, three men with three oares fate upon one oare, 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 portraiture of eterre, remaining, yet and now to be seen. So incredible a thing it seemed to believe that which in our galleys now adayes they never saw: whereas in truth Zostimus telles us, that very many yeares before his time they had discontinued to make any trierres at all: as indeed from the battle at Actium, till the battle betweene Constatine the great and Licinius at Heliopolis, I do not remember by sea any action of moment. His words are these: 'The galleys of the galleys, are greater than the Sarracens, and the vessels of the galleys, the Misiness.'

That is, These ships (speaking of the Liburnice) are as swift at sea as the gally of fifty oares, but nothing of the like service to the Trierre, which kind of ship this many yeares hath not beene built, although Polybius describeth the measures and proportions of the Hexaeteres usual sail ship in the wars between the Carthaginians and Romans. But howsoever, some different circumstance in the manner of rowing produced the different kinds of Naves longe. For generally the ships of war, as before we have said, although in the flight, and otherwise so speeded, both oare and sail were used, in the combat were directed only by oare, as being a thing very serviceable in those calm sea feares, and navigation at commandement. The most usual kind of Naves longe in the Roman wars, especially ancient were these three: Trierre, Quadrieme, and Marineraria: these, these, & these, exceeding one another by one ranke of oares, and consequently rowed with more strength, and builded more high. In the ninth yeares of the first Pyrric war the two Admirals were Hecules, and Polybius lib. And in the writers of Roman histories we have mention also above this number, although fadow use in the Roman warre, as of Hister, Olycon, & Hecules.

Philip of Macedonie father, Perdicca had a largeness. Polybius in fragment, which place Livy translateth thus: Regum omnium inhabita propius marinae, quam tescim, quam remorum omegat. And yet the Egiptian Kings exceeded tucis, & trifas vicus remorum, dedicantia, & ceterias. And Philopater as Plutarch & Athenaeus tellis, built one of forty rankes, more like to a castle or palace, then a shippe, being in length four hundred and twenty foot, and in height fifty two, containing four thousand rowers, other mariners four hundred, and almost three thousand soulers. On the other side under Trierre, there were two perfect kindes, Bireme and Marineraria, and two unperfect, Bireme and Tauromeraria. Generaly, the Romans, above the rest, of which kind of warre, both lightesse and strength were called Liburnice, as in Apian faith of the Liburnes, people in Dalmatia who were the inventors of that fashion and building albe in later times, as it may seeme by Vege
tius and others, all ships, though of more or fewer ranks then two, built after this manner, were generally called Liburnice. Trierees mentioned by Livy lib. 58 was a gally confinating of one smaller rank, whereof I remember five kindes specially named, eternum, or Actium variorum remorum, of twenty oares, which had thirty (named also by Polybius in fragment, as it feemeeth to me, but severall) which had fifty, as the galleys now a layes commonly have, and hundred, which had an hundred. The Grecetane Galleys in the old and newe age, which Gallus translateth celer is equal to our swift, and graduation in the list of Polybius feemeeth to induce, et terrae, vel oris, vel sectae, vel aeris. Of the unperfect kindes kori and hatae (feemeeth to have beene a ship furnished with one rank and a half only, as it were between a Mestres and a Bireme) and irone, between a Bireme, and a Trierre, with two rowers and a halfe. These foure kindes under the Trierre, although being built as I topose, as illeorum longitatis igitur, yet are not so generally comprehended by the name, but in the writings of approved authors stand oftimes in opposition to longes, and some of the kindes do so too. Liv. x. seventh century, & lib. 5. 9. 8. steadiam, from longe. Thucidides in his proper time in the same age, between Herodotus, Clio, expressly number it latere remorum, the; the name which in another place fetheth both eternum and irone, and opposition to ships of warre; and doeth Plutarch Catone, by oversight Liburni

which else were a vain and needless addition. Besides these forts diversified, as we see by the number of towers, we have the flowers particular mention of others, as Pompey, Praetor, Phcenus, Cenarius, &c. Differing peradventures from those we have reckoned in the fashion and manner of building, as being in some part built like the Lange, and part to the Hulks, as Appian s, &c. Bivwrieth, namely Prefitae Trasitici. And these kinds of shipping we had also to have been employed in service by sea, sometime principally, and sometime voiture, and as assiduously to other sorts.

And thus much of the different tations of ships of war, which again were divided in-

andwered, solitarii, and such as otherwise, Tellis, &c. or, carthali, &c. solitarii, so called because they had not in them that were accustomed to any kind of service, having none. Although Apollodorus in the nearer quarters, in some contrary the places for Tullus, Dodo, Plutarch, &c. seemeth to find for some peculiar kind of ship, and coadunanza of Pol.

quarters, and of a Quinquereme. The greater ships, as Quadriremes, and upward, had always, as farre as I remember, hatches: the Trinaves and Biremes sometimes otherwise, the rest that were under in a manner always. 

After the kindes of shipping dinium, urare wom,. For although the number of three hundred and sixty of these ships, which were to compose one of the Quinqueremes was not so excessive, yet so great was the Fleer, by reason of the quallity of ships, that not only the Grecian and Macedonian, but even the Persian power, which covered the Sea with twelve hundred sails, could not by Polibius judge nent stand in comparison. After Polibius time, Pompey in bello Pratrace had not above two hundred sevens. But in the civil war he had, as Appian witteth, his hundred navon longes, Dsolvit, &c. And Augustus after he had driven Sex. Pompeii out of Itali, ex hundred longes navon of his own, besides seventeen which fled with Pompey, and the Navy of Antonius, who shortly after the battle of Actium furnished five hundred ships of war, the same number, where Augustus had two hundred and sixty. Plutarch Antonius. And this was, as I take it, the great-

flying in the Roman state. But whereas we read of a few hundred out of Asia, a thousand and Germans in Germany, and such like, they are not to be otherwise intended but as victors to transplant after the civil wars ended, Augustus having as it were settled the State with Leagues, and Aids by land, as before we have beheld, established also so guard the Empire by Sea, two ordinary Armadas in Italy, the one at Mis-

s in maris inferius, to proceed, and keep in obedience France, Spain, Mauritania, Africa, Egypt, Sardinia and Sicily: another at Ravenna, in maris supere, to defend and bridge Epirus, Macedonia, Achaia, Aetia, Creta, Cyprus, &c. and out of Italy, one in Ponto Euxine, for defence of those countries consisting of forty ships at the beginning of the Vespasian time. Egitipus lib. 6. Beide these Armadas which remained ordinary for defence of the Empire, Pro-

sium Gallie Latin, faith Tacitus. Rerum navium praebentiam, from Africa victoria capta. Augustus in opimam Pusci-

dentem milite solis et duxim remittit, bridge, Avidius principium, solis triores. Claudius adjoining Britain to the Empire, adjoining also the British Armada. And not only this, but also upon the Rivers that bordered the Empire, several Navies were maintained, as Germanicae clausis upon the Rhine, Danubiana clausis, &c. and Euphratiana, Tacitus, and others.
THE EXPLICATION OF A Place in Polybius, with a defence of the common copie against the opinion of certain great learned men, wherein also the reason of the militar stipend is declared.

OLYBIVS lib. II. discoursing of the excellent and miraculous fertilitie of Lombardie, maketh report that a man in his Inner might there be well and plentifully entertained for halfe an Ass a meale, which is, faith he, the fourth part of an Obole. His words in our common printed bookes be these:'The fourteenth part of an Obole was in value peny farthing in the time of Sestius, peny halfe-pence in the reign of Augustus, and at the first institution, halfe-penny farthing; and after that Denarius went at sixe-pence, Ass of our money but farthing kue penie price. And if at anytime Denarius was current for twelve Ass, as Polybiusethethem to make it in this place, then one Ass was worth halfe-penny kue of English money, and an halfe Ass, farthing cee, the price of a mans dinner in his Inner Lombarde. This sayong of Polybiusethem to Budaeus an impossibilitie, and to D. Hottoman,page 20. of his book de re summariis, a miracle. Which if Hottoman had laid, and laid no more, it had beene well said: for as a miracle Polybius put it down, and fo it may seeme much more unto us, confuting the prices of things in our age. But Hottoman not contenting himselfe to accept it as a miracle, not with that most true and publique conflation, as soon shall appear, that is money by his value by passion, and not by nature, by the help of that blessed Art of correcting old copies proceeded to amend the place, in stead of seme kue an halfe-ass, reading, ass kue, that is, to Ass and a halfe: and in stead of vennum Rub. The fourth part of an Obole, wrote he, as he guesseth, being written not at large, but by note, which the next copier not understanding left out: and the note, signifying a Drachma, careilly flippeth into s, which signifieth an Obole. And to strengtheuen his correction he addeth further, that it is a thing never heard of, Fis Drachma, five denarius exactimatum effe egameus, (which must needs follow by Polybius) is a miraller thing, as he saith, that they should make it in that sense. And as for the price of a mens dinner to be a Seestius, or the fourth part of a drachma, in our money penie half-pence fartying kue, a correction both more miraculous and impossible then the text as it standeth. For Polybius himselfe the best witnisse of the use of his age, in his sixth booke feteth down the Romean footmanes pay to the supporting of all charges to be two Obole a day. So that the fodderier in three daies toward his dyet and all other charges, which are all leaue, were many and great, shall have but a Drachma; and if a quarter of a Drachma be the price of a meale in a most plentiful country, in a most plentiful country in two daies his three daies wages are in partare meate and drinke, which is far too small. And peradventure there were by daying days then others, who as Xenophon faith some-where, are meane which commonly cannot live of the leaue. And left a man might suppose, that Hottoman would have laid a heavy hand upon his other place also, if it had happened into his fingers, when this correcting humouur was predominant in him, we have by good fortune, his own words to defend the common reading of the printed copy herein for good and authenticall. His words be these, page 104. of his book, De re summariis: Oboleo lapide Polibus lib. vi. foris habet tempore, hoc est, in the beginning
gaining of the eighth book produceth another testimonie out of Polybius in the foure and thirtieth of his storie, and that in Portugall a good fat kidde was usuall sold for an Obole, the price of foure mens dinners in Lombardie. And Hottoman himeselfe bringeth out of Gellius enoughe to have withhelden him from laying violent hands upon a poore innocent place, that one accordin the fourteenth book of Polybius, that in Portugall a good fat kidde was usuall sold for an Obole, the price of four mens dinners in Lombardie. And Hottoman himeselfe bringeth out of Gellius enoughto have witholden him from laying violent hands; der, mummaria.

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Translations of the marginall Greek.

In the reign of Taurus.

Age destroyed. For vertue, wealth or nobilitie was with him a publike crime against all men.

Galate, left opinion of orderly proceeding and popularitie, putting to death certaine noble-men without forme of law, though peradventure they had juttly deferred to die.

He that isfent governour into Egypt sultaineth the person and place of a King. In extortions and murders upon crueltie and avastice.

He gave to the Judges of Ludi Olympii a million of Sesterces, which afterwards Galate demanded of them back againe.

Galate sought out those who had bought or received in gift any thing of Nepos favorites, and of them he exacted it.

Intending to make sacrifice to Jupiter, and be scene of the Citizens. He killed his fingers and caste
towards every one of them.

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

Getting upon the porches and high places about the place of assemble, as it were to behold a play.

With which the Centurionis founge them that defiere punishments. Gave fearing to contradict them, answered that he would make the man away, but not so suddenly; for that he had matter of importance which he must first learn out of him.

Galate body Helvidius Priscus took up by Otho's permission, and Argus his freed man buried it by night.

This yeere Sulpius Galba conquered the Britanni.

worship, universally one and another.

Stilling of their desire in Pergaunia, they sought to fulfill it in some other.

Otgus charged towards Tigullius lying at Sunetis, for there he sojourned, having ships attending in the road, as though he would have fled further and first he attempted to corrupt him that was fent, offering him flore 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, till his beard might be shaven, and hisfelfe taking the razor cut his own throat.

Left being in wine you fall to quarrelling among your felves, and wound one another, and so disfigure the banquet. For the light of Armes draweth men often to handling of them. Telemaques exult why be removed his fathers arms and weapons out of the place where the woods seemed to eat.

Two Centurionis. Bignifiely Senatus. Sending them out by a back gate.

And the common people accounted the rising of Tiber, as an evil signe. The river did most harm in this.

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

Some fay that the Land was called Cyprus, of Cyprus the sonne of Cinyras. The said altar was placed in the open aire without any covert, as others alfo in Homer seeme to have bene, on which thofe that travelled by the way did offer. It is reported and believed amongst the Bargylites, that the image of Diana named Kindyas, though lying open to all weather, yet neither touched with snow, nor raine at all.

Slaying all those of the vanguard.

One of the common fouldiers stretching out his fword and crying, We are thus resolved for thee, O Cesar, slew himfelfe.

With which the Centurions scourgethem that deserve Punishment. Other fearing to contradict them, answered that he would make them away, but not so suddenly; for that he had matter of importance which he must first learn out of him.

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188. Xiphius, Agricola the first Roman that we have memory of discovered Britannia to be an Island. Dio, In proce- 
de of time first under Agricola Propraetor, and now under Severus the Emperor it was evidently known to be an 
Island.

199. For as the proverbs faith, Venture must be made in the Cæsars (that is the common mercenary Souldier) not 
in the Generals person.

In the margin of the Annotations.

P. By a second after Death. Wherefore it is not to mounte for him, but to magnifie always his spirit as a God.

* Afterwards the Centurions with torches put fire to the pile, which was soone consumed, and out of it an eagle 

ferede flew up, as carrying forfooth his soule into heaven.

Ag. 2. Dio. Wherefore it is not to mounte for him, but to magnifie always his spirit as a God.

* Upon the Centurions with torches put fire to the pile, which was soone consumed, and out of it an eagle 

flew up, as carrying forfooth his soule into heaven.

Afterwards the Centurions with torches put fire to the pile, which was soone consumed, and out of it an eagle 

flew up, as carrying forsooth his soule into heaven.

29 Appian. To be faced and not to be touched himselfe, and whosoever else should fli 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 factious and detestable person.

* Antony allotted Souldiers to death, not those who had stirred mutinies, for taken their place in watch, or 

banding in battle upon which crimes only the law of arms had laid so rigorous and terrible a punishment, but &c.

Calles: then Lucus, now Lucus

29. Northerly winde blowing yearely after the summerest some twenty days, about the rising of the 

Dog: as being mixed of the northerly and westerly winde.

139. One day after Antounius entered the city, being the third of the moneth, Apellus.

142. Of the Roman wars he feared to triumph, as being evil, and neither much betraying himselfe, and 
much mistiaked and abhorred of the people, yet did he notwithstanding carry in triumph all the accidents of those 

ears in divers pictures, and the images of the capitaines and principal men, serving of Pompey, whom only he ef-

towed to fly, as being yet in all men's hearts greatly desired, and wished for. The few in his triumph of the 
citizens from in Africk did much grieve the people.

209. Dionibus glazed much more in his poems, then in the happy success of his wars, and among 

other poems that lived in the Tyrryns court Philoxenus a Reader of Drutherny, a man of great reputation and renown in 

that kind of poems, the Tyrrans verses being read in banquet which indeed were wrote, was asked his opinion of 
them. Who speaking somewhat so freely his mind, the Tyrran was offended with his answer; and crying out that upon 
envy he had spoken ill of his poems, commanded those that attended, to carry him forthwith away into the quie-
ty Pitt: This kind of vanity and envious judging and despising, nor by disputing, but by commencing to raife 
your neighbours, was first and principally found out by such as remaine in Princes courts, upon jealousy and ap-

dition they have, one to outgrow another.

200. Every one of the Legions is of 6000. a piece. Ten Legions were enrolled of 6000. a piece.

208. There followed him the horse belonging to the Legion. For every Legion hath annexed to it an hun-
dred and twenty horse.

129. For dividing themselves into payres. Of the six months they keep the field, each pair commanded 
two months. The Law commandeth all the 60 centuries to obey, and do what is commanded by him.

130. After that Augustus was settled in monarchy, he quitted the Itallians of the pains of service, and utterly di-

armed them. The gentlemen on horseback must of necessity serve ten years, the footmen 15, before they be 46.

131. The fame form of government the Prefetts also use with the allies.

132. The first day of the yeare both lare themselves, and cau'd others to swear, that they would accept 

for good all Cæsars acts. Which thing is used even at this day for the acts of the present Emperours, and for tho-

e, all their predecessors whose memory is not disgraced.

133. The whole figure of the calomtation is a figure of equal fides.

134. If the place chance to be uneven, they make it plaine and even. When they are fast gathered togethe-

r into the camp, and ready to enter the enemies countrey.

135. Romulus divided his people into Legions, and every Legion consisted of 3000. persons. He resolved 
to make war against the Sabins arming all the Roman forces, which were double to that they were before the taking 
of Alba.

136. The Provoft of the City having but few Souldiers under his government. Having never so much as im-

aged of a sea service, then first they entered into conceit thereof.

137. For being without sayeres, and prepared only for the fights, they did not follow in chase those which fled.

138. Burnt a people of Illyrium, who with light and swift ships roved about the Marit Inium, and länds there. 

Whereupon at this day the Romans call the lightest and swiftest of the Bisrnes Liburnica. Triacensoros and 

Pentaconsoros have their names of the number of their oars. Moneters and Biremis and in all 

quantity have their names according to the number of ranks of oars one above another. Ving but few Tri-

mes, but furnished with Pentaconsoros, and long ships.

139. Ships of Servies that were some five hundred, and of Liburnica an infinite number. A man may well 

be what the reafon should be why the Romans being now lords of all, and in a far greater height then before, 

neither man out so many ships, nor sayeres with so great navies.

The rest which are not here translated, are but either some few words, or else Greek of that, the 

substance whereof is in the text.

FINIS.